

THE CANADIAN FORUM



Twenty-Seventh Year of Issue

November, 1947

Labor Takes Political Action *Editorial*

Albertan Politics

Isabel MacMillan

Bolivian Politics and Labor

Robert J. Alexander

China's Co-operatives

Dorothy Livesay

Inter-American Women's Congress

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

16 Huntley Street

Toronto 5, Canada

O CANADA

... at the meeting of the Greater Victoria School Board ... Mrs. Margaret Beckwith ... wanted to see the board take up the offer of the Victoria Symphony Society to present three concerts by the local symphony to high school students ... The society asked that the board share the costs of producing the concerts, and the committee recommended that the board provide \$50 toward the expense of each concert ... Waldo Skillings ... expressed concern over the proposed expenditure. Business men around town were complaining about the rising costs of education here, he said, and this would be just one added burden. (Victoria Daily Times)

Ten Shapely D.P. Maids First of 1,000 Coming.

(Headline, Toronto Daily Star)

Yes, there's enthralling drama connected with the drilling of wells in the field—drama that, if successful, can spell highly interesting earnings for an independent oil company that participates in the play. There's also drama in the successful development of a mine, but nowhere near the drama that accompanies the bringing in of a well, with the "black gold" skyrocketing above the derrick. This can be plainly seen, and it is easy to visualize the flood of oil turning into "barrels of dollars."

(News from the Oil Fields, Sterling Securities, Toronto)

Marysville, N.B., Oct. 15 (CP)—Comparing the CCF with the Communist Party, Garfield Case, Progressive Conservative member of parliament for Grey North, said at an election meeting here tonight that "the present system in Russia is leading to one of the most tragic wars mankind has ever known."

(Globe and Mail)

Rooms, Unfurn., to Let—2 unfurnished rooms for "Born Again" business girl. (Classified Advt., The Toronto Evening Telegram)

Miss Enid Walker, who served in military hospitals in England during the war and came home with an overwhelming enthusiasm for the English ... still thinks that vicars' wives are the most deserving people in the world. She says that the Girl Guides and Brownies are marvellous, and declares "They are going to save England."

(The Globe and Mail)

Some, if not all of the present nationalization in Britain might conceivably have come about in due course even if no Socialist government had ever reached office. Much of Socialism itself is not objectionable to Conservatives or Liberals; their objection is often that the time is not ripe for it. (The Evening Times-Globe, Saint John, N.B.)

Vancouver, B.C.—The one man who should be at the present United Nations meeting—Winston Churchill—cannot be there because of the Labor government in Britain. "And that," says Squadron Leader C. S. Goode, a Conservative candidate in the last general election in Britain, "is Britain's greatest shame ... I am not denying that if there were an election tomorrow the socialists would get back with some kind of majority." (Toronto Evening Telegram)

Suggestion that one year's free postage on food parcels to Britain might be part of Princess Elizabeth's wedding present from Canada was turned down by the government tonight as a plan that would be unworkable and would set up a system of "preferred treatment which would only apply to a favored few." (Canadian Press despatch)

In the early session of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce C. Bruce Hill, chairman of the National Affairs Committee, made a fighting speech in which he told members that the life of business is today at stake. They are fighting he told them, in one of the last bulwarks of private enterprise. They should get out and fight vigorously for what they knew was good and had made this country what it is. (Wellington Jeffers in The Globe and Mail)

Hats with fur ... hats trimmed with fur ... hats bonneted with fur ... hats with fur and ribbons ... hats with fur and feathers ... headiest of fashion's first forecasts for winter, luxury highlight of Eaton's beautiful, flattering, new hat collection. (Advertisement, Globe and Mail)

A movement is being organized and strengthened that aims to take your business from you and to destroy your independence and that of every other man, and overthrow the way of living which you and most of us still wish to pursue. The greater menace to the peace and prosperity not only of Canada, but to the whole world, is the division of the world into two basically opposed forms of society. One respects the dignity, the decency, the independence and the liberty of the individual. The other treats the individual merely as a cog in an inhuman and altruistic machine.

(V. R. Smith, president Confederation Life Association, in address to Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce, Port Arthur)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to Mrs. Clare McAllister, Victoria, B.C. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

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As You Were

Stalin has issued another heartening statement, this time to a group of visiting British M.P.'s, that different economic systems can live at peace and that Russia is eager for trade co-operation with the Western countries. Unfortunately these conciliatory declarations by the Head of the Communist church—he has made a number of them over the years—seem addressed exclusively to the faithful abroad; they are obviously not intended to have any effect upon Russian policies.

Indeed, at the very time the declaration was made, Vishinsky made an attack upon the U.S. and Britain before the UN Assembly which must hold the record for vituperative violence among responsible politicians, but perhaps that speech does not mean very much either. Then there is the establishment of the new communist international information bureau in Belgrade, which also issued a manifesto which is in effect a declaration of war upon the Marshall proposals, or for that matter upon any other American policy that might replace it. It was also a declaration of war upon democratic socialists everywhere. There is, of course, nothing new in this: the Communists have insisted throughout the years that social democracy was their worst enemy. It has been the most consistent of their policies and also their most fatal mistake. And here too it is the deliberate public avowal of policies already well established and under way that is significant.

What Russia expects to gain from these public declarations of enmity is not clear. Is it unconsciously that they are playing into the hands of their worst enemies? De Gaulle's successes in the French municipal elections already show how mere negative anti-communism (as ever a cloak for reaction) benefits from the Russian attitude. The Kremlin is notoriously obtuse as to the results of their declarations abroad, but they could not act differently if they were deliberately supporting reaction abroad in the hope that a revolutionary situation will develop. They seem to have learned nothing from the German experience, and their romantic attachment to the barricades seems to blind them to the cold fact that in the industrialized West, the heir to revolution would be Fascism, not Communism.

Yet Stalin says that Russia is eager for co-operation with the West on the economic front. He may well be right, for Russia needs such co-operation. The remaining hope is that behind the thunder of political storms, economic relations may still be allowed to develop. But the United Nations might well be smashed by the storms in the process.

Still A Speech

Meanwhile, in our other world, the Marshall speech of June 5 is still only a speech. Faced with starvation in Europe on a mass scale and a grave economic crisis on both continents, the President of the United States dares not call Congress into special session until the grim results of inaction are so plain that not even Congressmen can miss the picture. What Congress will do then—with political considerations uppermost in their minds—is apparently unpredictable, except that it will probably be too little and

almost certainly be too late. American exports have already dropped 20 per cent, they are expected to drop another 30 per cent within a few months.

Not that we in Canada have any reason for complacency. Our own government has consistently failed to give any hint of what contribution Canada is prepared to make as its share of a general plan. There are persistent rumors that our only contribution to a Marshall or similar plan is to try to profit by it. When it comes to delayed action, Mackenzie King can still give lessons to Harry Truman.

The only positive action so far has been in Europe itself. The report of the sixteen nations who have planned together at Ernest Bevin's initiative is far more than a demand for help to the tune of \$23,000,000,000 over four years. It also represents a real and unprecedented attempt at co-operative planning on a more than national scale, a four-year plan which aims at redressing the balance of trade by 1951, with goals set for production in vital necessities such as grain, coal, steel, electricity, transport and the like in the various countries, and for the exploitation of the hydro-electric resources of the Alps, for example, which transcends national boundaries. The participants also intend to exchange all relevant industrial information, and even a customs union is being studied further. One ironical aspect of the situation is that the obstacles to true co-operation due to cartels and their restrictive regulations—those monstrous offsprings of free enterprise and the American way of life—are likely to make the need for financial help from America greater.

Yet even the most drastic economies cannot suffice to put Europe on its feet without American help. The Americans must put their own customers on their feet or lose the custom. Europe must get American help or starve. Even a few weeks delay will make the situation much worse, but no one expects any action for three months at least.

Palestine Partitioned

The acceptance of the majority recommendations of the United Nations Sub-Committee on Palestine by both the United States and the Soviet Union brings to the verge of reality the recreation of a Jewish state. The partition of any country is an unhappy solution to the problem of religious and national differences. It seems however, to be the only alternative to civil war in this age of heightened nationalism and religious intolerance. The examples of Ireland, India and Palestine prove that religious differences can still outweigh any material considerations in the minds of men.

There is no point in casting blame on any one group for the difficulties in Palestine. Many Jews and Arabs, with some justice, will accuse British imperialism of deliberately sabotaging the possibility of a settlement in the past. All nations and peoples however are responsible. If the countries of the world had opened their doors to the Jews after Hitler rose to power, six million human beings would be alive and there would be no need for the partition of Palestine. All the powers, United States, Russia, and England, as well as the lesser countries such as Canada, joined together in an unholy alliance to prevent the Jews from reaching a haven. Those who now express surprise at the refusal of the remnants of European Jewry to go to any other country but Palestine should remember that in the eyes of these Jews

all countries were accomplices of the Nazis in the extermination of their relatives and friends.

The misfortunes and hatreds of the present may yet produce something worthwhile. If the Jews are permitted to succeed in their objective of a modern industrialized socialist state, it may prove to be the catalyst which starts the semi-feudal Arab countries on the road to a more democratic society. Economic conditions in Arab Palestine have improved greatly as a result of the Jewish efforts. Let us hope that the day is not too far distant when all the peoples of the Near East, Jew, Christian, and Moslem join together to rebuild the great civilization which gave to the western world much of its culture and religious values.

The Two Dominions

The only hope for peace in India is that the two Dominions should be left to work out a settlement between themselves and not become another battleground of the Russo-American cold war. Some signs of this are unfortunately developing. Pakistan appears to be leaning to the Anglo-American axis. She has made most of the overtures for peace, including a direct appeal to the British Commonwealth; she is evidently working hard to achieve internal harmony and even to safeguard the rights of Hindu and European minorities. There are hints that she not only wants American technicians, but will make no resistance to whatever economic penetration may spread from the American oil concessions in nearby Baluchistan. Russia has given little indication of her attitude to this, but Afghanistan, which looks like a Russian border stooge, voted against Pakistan's entry into the UN and is beginning to mutter about territorial claims.

The situation in Hindustan is more confused, but Hindustan is already industrialized, and much more inclined to regard Britain and America as economic rivals. The long struggle for independence developed a nationalist-Communist movement in India, and some of the Hindu leaders, including the Nehrus, have been pro-Russian. Again, the vague impression that the native governments cannot control the situation only because the strong guiding hand of Britain has been withdrawn is misleading. For some years the British administration had been so weakened in numbers and discipline that it was rapidly losing its prestige, and in the test case—the terrible Bengal famine—it was largely demoralized.

Meanwhile two prominent public figures have been heard from. Mr. Churchill says that the British should have held India down (with what?) until a peaceful transition could have been made. And the "pacifist" Gandhi says that Hindustan may have to fight Pakistan unless Pakistan sees the error of its ways. Such voices merely echo the general panic.

The most constructive policy for the two Dominions is to realize that they can and must use each other's exports, and to try to use trading agreements to mitigate the hatred and suspicion that are causing all the misery.

Appetites Uncurbed

Although the removal of controls has continued at a regular pace over the past month, there are definite signs that the government is beginning to be seriously alarmed at our economic position. The rest of us, of course, have been alarmed for two years, but slow reflexes are among the occupational diseases of Ministers of the Crown. This official uneasiness is derived from two principal sources: the unchecked rise in the cost of living, and the increasing awkwardness of those ties with the United States which are so

much less invisible than the oratorically celebrated ones with the United Kingdom.

In a speech to the Maritime Board of Trade at Saint John, Mr. Howe rightly and ruthlessly pointed out that "a great many wage and salary earners can hardly afford to purchase their own produce at market prices," and urged business men to curb their appetites for windfall profits. Figures are becoming available which show staggering increases in net profits, and give the lie to claims that the wicked unions with their excessive wage demands are forcing prices up.

Our intimacy with the American dollar is also proving embarrassing. We are in danger of losing our chief export market, the sterling area, and yet of running out of American dollars ourselves, which is getting the worst of both worlds with a vengeance. The government is known to be considering two courses. One is a devaluation of our dollar, always an unwelcome step. The other is the more heroic measure of a drastic cut in imports from the United States. This would cause Canadians some personal inconvenience, but would give far better balance to our foreign trade, at the same time materially helping the British and the rest of Europe to recover from their present difficulties. Distasteful though all such artificial restrictions are, this policy, vigorously pursued, could be a splendid contribution to the prosperity and peace of the world.

It should be widely known that we are in danger of being offered "Help" by the United States. *The Wall Street Journal*, in an editorial quoted with unabashed gratification by Mr. Jeffers of *The Globe and Mail*, has pronounced that we are "Worth Helping." It argues that a loan to Canada would be more useful than aid to the "managed economies" of Europe which are, as any fool can tell, "halfway houses" to that very communism which all good Americans are pledged to destroy. In other words, Canada is to be bribed to remain a minor bulwark of American capitalism.

Milky Way Milestone

The report of the royal commissioner on milk appointed in Ontario something over a year ago will be useful in every province. The report consists of over 150 printed pages and the appendices when released are expected to be even more extensive. Principal recommendation perhaps is discontinuance of fixed prices to fluid milk consumers. The commissioner admits that competition will "accelerate the slow process of amalgamation that has been going on among the distributors since the passing of the Milk Control Act in 1934." He states that small distributors may be "forced to sell out to the existing volume distributors," but the alternative, as he sees it, is that the consumer pays too much for his milk. The commissioner recommends the repeal of a section of the act which prevents co-operative dairies paying patronage returns to consumers, and he also recommends legislation which would permit municipally owned dairies "liable to municipal and provincial taxes in like manner as other distributors." He dismisses consumer milk subsidies and states: "The efficacy of public ownership methods of distribution would appear to depend entirely on their efficiency and diversification of their operation, and in no way offers an immediate prospect of lower price to the consumer. If any public assistance is to be rendered it should, in my view, be limited to the supplying of cheaper milk for school children."

Transportation of milk from the farm the commissioner describes as "uneconomic and wasteful." He would fix the price to the producer at the farm and permit co-operative hauling of milk. Distribution costs he puts at 25 per cent

of the cost of a quart of milk, and recommends economies. He opposes any increase in price to producers at the present time, "despite the fact that in the view of the commission existing prices do not cover the cost of production plus a reasonable profit or even a proper administration allowance." Furthermore, he suggests that producers and distributors might be wise to return to the lower prices of a year ago in order to increase sales volume.

Out of Joint

Piecemeal handling of Canada's agricultural exports leads to one difficulty after another. The dominion government, which is undertaking to market major agricultural exports, negotiates a new wheat price to Britain (\$2 a bushel Aug. 1, 1948). The government announces that wheat growers will get just as much for their wheat by selling it now as if they hold it until next year, but makes no announcement about coarse grains. Western growers have begun to hold coarse grains for an increase because they think the price out of line with the wheat price. It is now almost a month since Georgian Bay elevators have released substantial quantities of coarse grain. Eastern farmers, short of their own feed grain this year, have to liquidate livestock. Similarly, if the government lifts the ceilings on coarse grains and ends the subsidies, as it continually threatens to do, eastern livestock producers must still get rid of livestock or get an increased price for meat going to Britain. An increase in domestic meat prices alone would not provide sufficient compensation, and some farm organizations in both east and west had expressed their preference for the retention of meat ceilings and coarse grain ceilings and subsidies.

The new wheat price throws grain returns out of balance in the west, and promises to throw livestock costs and prices out of balance in the east. It would seem that the Dominion Government should either negotiate wheat and meat contracts with Britain simultaneously, or else go on with piecemeal contracts and pool the returns among all Canadian farmers. In other words, an export board would use the pooled returns from Britain to buy wheat, meat and cheese at comparatively fair prices. The price the western farmer paid for them would enter into the determination of those fair prices.

B. C. Premiership

Premier John Hart of British Columbia, the astute and genial Irishman, who produced 20 annual budgets as Finance Minister in Liberal governments before he became Coalition Premier in 1941, has announced his retirement from public life as soon as a successor can be found. The problem of replacing him is worrying both the old parties profoundly.

The Conservatives feel that it is their turn to produce a premier for the Coalition; and Tory Herbert Anscomb, present Finance Minister, is having his claims pressed by his party. But the Liberals have a slight majority in the Coalition. Gordon Wismer, Attorney-General, would probably be the choice of the Liberals, but he is not acceptable to the Conservatives.

George Pearson, Provincial Secretary and Labor Minister, Liberal, and the ablest and hardest worker in the Cabinet, would make the best premier, but poor health forbids. Besides, Pearson is not willing to be as "tough" with labor unions as Anscomb and most of the Conservatives would like the government to be. Lack of harmony in the Coalition is

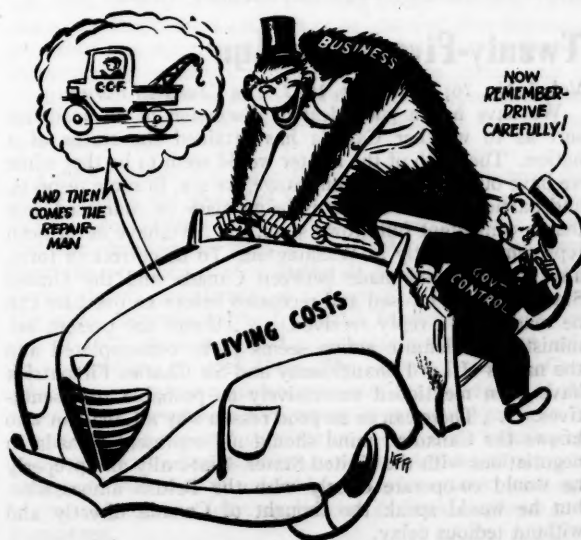
an open secret; but fear of the CCF—(the same fear which created the Coalition) can be counted on as a sort of negative glue to hold the old parties together.

Bill 39, however, is so "hot" that it melts the glue repeatedly. It was the Conservatives who forced it upon the Cabinet at the last sitting of the Legislature, and managed to get it passed in spite of Pearson's criticism and doubt of its workability. Today hundreds of workers are being prosecuted under Bill 39; while Pearson, under the plea of poor health, takes no part in the prosecutions but leaves these to an "Acting Minister of Labor." Mr. Pearson, however, carries on all his other duties.

Thumbprints

Premier Duplessis' cold war on organized labor got a little hotter this month—and his Labor Relations Board established a new and ugly precedent, by withdrawing a union's certification for staging a legal strike. Victim of the unprecedented action was Local 313, United Rubber Workers of America (CIO-CCL), which has been on strike at the Chambly plants of Bennett's Ltd. since April 15. With certification withdrawn, the strike can now be declared illegal and police used to prevent picketing of any kind. Reasons for the Board's 3-2 decision were two—the strike had gone on too long, and the majority of the workers had gone back to work. The first premise is fantastic, the second erroneous, since less than fifty of the original 250 strikers has gone back. Any Quebec employer who wishes to defy the Quebec Labor Act by refusing to deal with the bargaining agency chosen by his employees, as the Bennett's management has done, apparently can successfully do so, provided his shareholders' money is sufficient to prolong the struggle for a period of eighteen months or more. Significantly, the Board made its decision in closed sessions, break-

The Canadian Forum is an independent journal of progressive democratic opinion. The opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of the editors, and the editors speak only for themselves.



ing a written promise that the union's case would be heard before any decision was made, and the decision was first announced by Bennett's management.

* * * *

An item from *CIO News*: "As the public schools opened in Gary, Indiana, CIO steelworkers decided to do some educating of their own. The elementary and high schools were hit by a student 'strike' against the admission of 38 Negroes. The steelworkers entered the dispute with the threat to suspend those members whose children continued to stay away. Enrollment following the threat rose from 250 to 650."

* * * *

On September 17, Mr. Howe was amazed to read a report that Mr. Howe, speaking to Toronto business men, had criticized the British government because "they thought it necessary to carry out their ideology rather than concentrate on the problems at hand." The Minister admitted he had spoken without notes, but in any case the criticism does not become a member of a government that insists on carrying out the Liberal ideology of laissez-faire (leave it to others) instead of concentrating on anything at all.

* * * *

According to a recent pamphlet issued by the Canadian Youth Commission school attendance by province for both boys and girls, aged 15-19, is as follows:

British Columbia	49	per cent
Alberta	47	" "
Saskatchewan	43	" "
Manitoba	40	" "
Ontario	38	" "
Nova Scotia	36	" "
P.E.I.	33	" "
New Brunswick	32	" "
Quebec	25	" "

Go West, young man!

* * * *

Income tax figures recently released show that two-thirds of income taxpayers earn less than \$2,000 a year. The total income of this two-thirds was \$2,332,831,000, or well over 50 per cent. These figures take no account of those who live below the income tax level, the partially employed, unemployed, old-age pensioners and the like. If those were included the disparity would be even more striking.

Twenty-Five Years Ago

Vol. 2, No. 26, November, 1922, *The Canadian Forum*.

We have had a good deal of discussion of an academic sort as to whether Canada has attained the status of a nation. The truth of the matter would seem to be that while we have outgrown the colony stage, we are, in some respects, and particularly when war is being made or composed, less than a competent full-grown state. . . . We have never been represented directly at Washington. To be correct in form, any arrangements made between Canada and the United States must be crossed and recrossed before an overture can be made and a reply received. . . . Under the present administration definite action seems to be contemplated and the names of Lord Shaughnessy and Sir Charles Fitzpatrick have been mentioned successively as probable representatives. . . . There can be no good reason why a Canadian who knows the Canadian mind should not represent Canada in negotiations with the United States. Naturally and properly he would co-operate closely with the British ambassador, but he would speak the thought of Canada directly and without tedious delay.

Labor Takes Political Action

► CANADIAN LABOR has decided to take political action to solve its post-war problems. But labor is divided into two large Congresses—the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the younger Canadian Congress of Labor—and as such labor is taking two different courses in this all-important matter.

At its seventh annual convention which opened in Toronto on October 6, the Canadian Congress of Labor denounced the Communists in its ranks and made it more than clear that it favored direct support to the CCF, not only passing resolutions but by action at the grass roots, which is directly financed and organized by the affiliated unions of the Congress. There can be no doubt of the earnestness of this decision. From President A. R. Mosher, down through the executive and the great majority of the delegates, positive political action was the theme of the convention; positive political action through the CCF.

At its sixty-second annual convention which opened in Hamilton on September 24, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada soft-pedalled the major political issue. It sent back to committee a resolution designed to limit the activities of the Communists, and left the LLP members within its ranks a small but active tail wagging the dog. It heard President Percy Bengough deny the report that he was going to accept a position in the Federal Labor Department under Humphrey Mitchell; but the rumor persists and it may serve to explain why President Bengough supports Bill 338, Canada's prospective National Labor Code. The TLC took negative political action by not supporting the CCF, thereby affording great solace to the Communists and the reactionary old parties.

The election of Alec Gordon of the Fishermen's Union of British Columbia, a Communist, as a vice-president of the TLC as well as other activities of the totalitarians may make it appear that the TLC is communist-dominated. What is nearer the truth, however, is that they are only a small vociferous minority and could be more easily sterilized than the same obstructive minority in the Canadian Congress of Labor. It takes real leadership however, to guide an unorganized majority in the bitter fight against the closely disciplined supporters of the police state.

Where did the leadership come from in the CCL? There are socialists in the ranks of the unions affiliated to both Congresses. But in the CCL there is a strong group of convinced democratic socialists whose members are not only numerous among the rank and file but in the top leadership. These men are not just opposed to the communists; they are directly and definitely for the democratic socialist CCF.

Why are the big unions within the CCL taking positive political action? Here is what C. H. Millard, National Director of the United Steelworkers of America and member of the executive of the CCL, said: "The steel, rubber, auto and electrical strikes of 1946 were the first indications of reduced economic bargaining power. Workers, used to short strikes and fast settlements, had to endure strikes lasting between three and four months in order to secure moderate wage boosts." Then he goes on, "This year's packinghouse strike has confirmed the trend and has showed how, by merely dividing responsibility, governments could effectively confuse the issue, prolong the strike period and thereby aid the employer. The packinghouse and west coast strikes also revealed the dangerous anti-union legislation which was being enacted on a bit-by-bit basis now that labor laws have been returned to provincial responsibility."

But the educational process was going on from a different angle. Again Millard: "Removal of price controls demonstrated how laws protecting the workers' living standard were being repealed steadily, while the refusal of governments to improve collective bargaining machinery demonstrated the reluctance of the same governments to pass laws which would ease ruthless exploitation. . . . Now, as never before, the rank and file union member is considering the importance of political action, not as an end in itself, but as a vitally necessary addition to purely economic action."

If the two Congresses are proceeding in opposite directions on political matters, they are acting in parallel on purely economic and social ones. They both want the return of price controls. They both want rent control. They both condemn the governments of the Dominion and the Provinces for the failure to produce housing. They both favor immigration on a controlled basis, and adequate Canadian action in regard to the Displaced Persons of Europe. They both want the eradication of racial and religious prejudice and a better society in which men and women can live in freedom, co-operation and security.

So often it has been noted that the timing of the event, more than the event itself, was more significant. Indications appearing since the decision to support the CCF was made by the Canadian Congress of Labor suggest that had the Trades and Labor Congress met after, rather than before the CCL convention the action in the TLC would have been rather different. There can be no doubt that among the rank and file members of the unions affiliated to the TLC there are many supporters of the CCF. They too, favor real political action. They are finding leadership in this regard from the active people in the other Labor Congress. That does not necessitate any jostling within the TLC. But it does mean that the failure of the TLC to take positive political action will not of itself prevent the whole broad labor movement from backing the CCF.

There are great stirrings in the ranks of labor. Anti-union legislation, and inimical economic developments are sending labor on the march politically. There is a new spirit abroad. This is the crucial year. Labor feels that. It intends to do something practical and effective about it. And labor has a great deal of experience to draw on in its new and untraditional role on this continent. It has been the successes of labor-socialist governments in Sweden, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, and most important of all in Britain. The eyes of Canadian labor are on the British Labor Government and the British Labor Party. What they are seeing is giving them confidence and inspiration. The Trestrails and the Gladstone Murrays will not frighten them again.

Labor is tired of competing and negotiating with both the employer and the employer's government. It has decided to have its own government. That is the kernel of the current decision on political action. The ensuing months will be fraught with potentialities. If the march of labor on the legislatures of this country gains momentum, there will be a momentous shift in the relation of political power forces. There will be a hardening of opinion and decision on both sides. The alternatives of monopoly capital and exploitation on the one hand, and of socialist freedom for all on the other, will be thrown into clear relief.

The significance of labor moves in Canada cannot be divorced from those of labor in the United States. Political success for labor in Canada will have its repercussions in the great republic to the south. There, too, labor is seeking the way to effective political action. Labor leaders in the United States are watching the Canadian effort with the utmost interest. And this being true, it is no exaggeration to suggest

that what happens in Canadian politics within the coming months will have far-reaching influence on world affairs. Socialist labor on the march with a clear goal ahead is an unquestionably more powerful political and social force than all the gold in Fort Knox.

National Conciliation

Andrew Hebb

► THIS YEAR'S packinghouse strike has emphasized the need for amendment of the British North America Act to provide for national conciliation of a country-wide dispute, or even one which extends beyond the boundaries of one province, in other than recognized dominion industries such as railways and shipping. Such national conciliation was available under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act from 1907 until the privy council decision of 1925, and it was again available under the Wartime Labor Relations Regulations. War and transitional period legislation gave the dominion jurisdiction over war industry, and supplementary provincial legislation made the dominion's Wartime Labor Relations Regulations (in most of the provinces) apply to all remaining provincial industry. The dominion set up a national labor relations board and the provinces set up provincial boards. By dominion-provincial arrangement a dispute with a one-province employer went to the provincial board, with an appeal lying to the national board, and disputes with a common employer in more than one province went direct to the national board.

Since early this year the national board has had jurisdiction over only the traditional dominion industries, and there is no appeal from provincial boards. Use of provincial legislation now leads only to provincial conciliation, and therefore was inappropriate for the packinghouse strike. Neither the union nor the companies took steps to bring provincial conciliation machinery into operation. Ontario's legislation still consists of the dominion regulations, which are set in motion only at the request of one or other party to the dispute, and consequently the strike was not unlawful in Ontario—despite the Ontario labor minister's statement to the contrary. Many of the provinces now have legislation of their own drafting, but most of it is similar in principle to the Wartime Labor Relations Regulations and it may be assumed that the strike probably was not unlawful in any province except Quebec. Nevertheless, repeated statements that the strike was in violation of the law of all the provinces except Saskatchewan were used to marshal public opinion against the striking workers.

Public opinion is a large factor in major industrial disputes. When the Canadian people get around to providing national conciliation for all national industries, they should consider carefully to what extent public opinion will support the prohibition of a strike or lockout for a waiting period during conciliation or following its failure. Despite the many successes of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907, there were 472 punishable violations but only 16 prosecutions up until 1925. The author of the act, Canada's present prime minister, once said that a breach of the act was like trespass, a civil wrong between the parties. In the absence of national conciliation for such an industry as packing, the provinces should amend their legislation to make provincial conciliation available to an inter-provincial employer only on the joint application of both employer and employees.

Rehabilitation Experiment

Phil Shackleton

►REHABILITATION in recent years has come to be associated almost entirely with discharged service personnel during their adjustment to civilian life. But in Saskatchewan, rehabilitation into community life is being provided for a group of people who for many years have lived on the fringe of our society.

These are the Metis, product of intermarriage between Indians and whites. The forefathers of today's Metis were traders, freighters, hunters, and trappers who pioneered the west. Generally nomadic, they roamed the prairies, living off the bountiful land. In recent times, their children and grandchildren have been squatters. Marked in the eyes of society as halfbreeds, they have suffered neglect and discrimination.

Most depend on seasonal employment on farms, but depression years, drouth, and other factors have virtually closed this means of support. Since they have few opportunities to develop other skills, little employment is available to them. Many receive relief grants from municipal and provincial sources.

In 1874, they came under the Homestead Laws which technically gave them rights of full citizenship. Although they have had the franchise, there has been continual misunderstanding between them and white communities. As a result, many have clung to their Indian dialects and lived on Indian reservations.

But the Department of Indian Affairs, accepting no responsibility for the Metis, has in recent years been removing them from reservations. The displaced families have since been squatting on road allowances or private property.

Many Metis, however, have proven that, when given a proper opportunity, they can become valuable citizens. Some, fortunate to receive an education, have become judges, lawyers, authors, and clergymen. John Norquay, a Metis and a Red River settler, was elected to the first Legislative Assembly of Manitoba in 1871. He remained a member till his death in 1889, and for eight years was premier of the province.

To help Saskatchewan's eight thousand Metis establish themselves as useful citizens, the provincial government has launched a long-range program of rehabilitation. Carried out by the Social Aid Branch of the Department of Social Welfare, its initial project has been the Lebreton Metis Farm.

Full control of the farm, formerly operated by the Oblate Fathers of Lebreton for the benefit of Metis in the Qu'Appelle Valley, has been taken over by the government. One section of land was purchased from the Oblate Fathers, another was leased from the federal government.

The heads of each of the eight families living on the farm are paid regular monthly wages for the work they do, while those in training are paid by the day. The Metis are charged nominal sums for farm produce consumed. This was the first step in their rehabilitation; they were beginning to support themselves.

Under the charge of a capable farm manager, J. E. Falloon, the project is supporting seventy-four Metis. Extensive improvements have been made. Machinery has been modernized, the water supply improved, and livestock production has been raised. Pure-bred cattle and hogs have been acquired to improve the stock strains.

In addition to modern farming methods, the Metis are taught welding and machinery maintenance. Some have

been trained in carpentry during the construction of new farm buildings. Crops have been good, and the revenue from these is expected soon to pay full operating costs for the rehabilitation project. At present, the project is planned to employ all necessary personnel on a salary basis. Medical, dental, and hospital care is provided without charge.

After graduation from public school, the boys are offered farm employment until reaching the age of eighteen. During this time, they receive all instruction necessary to good farm operation. Children on the farm attend school at Lebreton. During winter, they are driven there in a farm van.

In other areas where Metis are found, lesser measures have been undertaken. The thirty-one children of families squatting in the Leech Lake district, south of Yorkton, had never had access to a school. The Department of Social Welfare has built a school for them there, and has made available lots for the building of permanent homes. To date, this group has been supporting itself by trapping, brush clearance, and fall harvest employment.

Land has been acquired in the Lestock area to set up a project similar to the Lebreton Farm. The Department also plans to place other Metis children in boarding schools, pending the construction of day schools in their localities.

Fishing For Pennies

Donald Peterson

►ONE of the tightest monopolies—and one of the wealthiest—that operates in Canada is centred in Nova Scotia, a province which is notably poor in comparison with central Canada.

This monopoly is centred in fish and run by National Sea Products Limited. It owns outright sixteen companies, has acquired all the capital of three others, including one Newfoundland firm, and 80 or 90 per cent of two others. The assets of seven of its larger subsidiaries are listed at about five million dollars and in 1945, after provision for depreciation and taxes on income, they made \$527,979.

Its power is far more vast than most people in Nova Scotia dream. National Sea Products not only owns fleets of fishing vessels, processing plants, and distributing facilities in Quebec and Ontario but, as the word monopoly implies, sets the price of fish for both fisherman and consumer. Moreover, its influence on the Nova Scotia government is so powerful that it has all but smashed the Canadian Fishermen's Union.

The companies it controls include: Lockport Company Limited, Leonard Brothers Limited of Sydney and North Sydney, Maritime Fish Corporation of Digby, Nickerson Brothers Limited of Liverpool, National Fish, Maritime National Fish, O'Leary and Lee, Fastertat Limited and National Laboratories of Halifax, W. C. Smith and Company and Lunenburg Sea Products of Lunenburg, O'Connor's Fish, Leonard Fisheries and D. Hatton Company of Montreal, White's Fish and Nipigon Fisheries of Toronto, Leonard Brothers of Rose Blanche, Newfoundland, Prospect Trawlers, Venosta Limited, Cape Agulhas, Golden Ray Fishing, Lilla B. Limited, and Nellie C. Limited.

Even in 1938, when fishermen were eking out a bare existence around the rugged Nova Scotia coast—some of them were actually starving—National Sea Products managed to scrape through with over a quarter of a million dollars in profits.

Last winter the five hundred deep-sea fishermen of Nova Scotia went on strike for eighty-one days for recognition of their union and 60 per cent of the proceeds of their

"The deep-sea fishermen now are making about five hundred dollars less each year than they did before the strike although they still catch about twenty-five million dollars worth of fish annually for National Sea Products." Donald Peterson, pseudonym of a Haligonian, was the author of the article "Dosco and the Coal Strike," printed in our August issue.

vessels' catches. National Sea Products refused to recognize the union, and said so in full-page advertisements in the newspapers, on the grounds that it was Communist. H. C. Meade, the secretary of the union, makes no bones about the fact that he is Communist, but it is as ridiculous to accuse Nova Scotia fishermen of being Communist as it would be to level the same charge against Premiers Drew or Macdonald.

The strike failed. The fishermen did not win recognition and though they got the 60 per cent "lay" National Sea Products immediately cut the price of cod paid to fishermen from three and a half to two and a half cents a pound. There was no corresponding cut for the consumer, and a housewife now pays around thirty cents a pound for fillets. At the same time, prices of gear, especially rope, have climbed rapidly. The deep-sea fishermen now are making about five hundred dollars less each year than they did before the strike although they still catch about twenty-five million dollars worth of fish annually for National Sea Products.

Soon after the strike the Nova Scotia government took its hand in slapping the eight thousand fishermen in the province. They were cut out of the new provincial labor code entirely. Even before this the Nova Scotia Supreme Court had ruled that the fishermen were not employees of the company but "sharers in a joint venture."

The court's ruling gave the impression that National Sea Products was some kind of co-operative in which shares were distributed among the fishermen. Actually, a fishing vessel cannot clear port until the company allows it to. National Sea Products which owns the processing plants, may, and often does, refuse to process a catch. This means that some of the few independent operators have been forced out of business.

The act governing collective bargaining for fishermen set up "county stations" in various sections of the province. A fisherman may join a station only if he is a resident of that particular area. But each station is a separate unit, which may not work with any other, and therefore no concerted action could ever be arrived at. Though this did not smash the union it accomplished the same end. The fisherman has taken the dirty end of the economic stick in Nova Scotia for decades. It has had one good result: out of poverty and rigidly controlled markets has grown the Maritime Co-operative Movement, centred in Antigonish.

During the depression, fishermen were probably hit harder than any other group in Canada. Throughout the war their lot improved financially although the hazards of the sea increased enormously. Today, a fisherman of a beam trawler goes out for seven or eight days at a stretch and works a shift of six hours on and six off. If he is out eight days he works ninety-six hours but often, when the run is heavy, he has to work forty-eight hours straight. For this he gets between thirty and forty dollars a week, but the vagaries of weather and storage mean that often this amount must be stretched over several weeks. Even at that, this is an improvement over depression days when a fisherman, if he could get to sea at all, made about five dollars for a week of back-breaking work.

In the meantime, over the last ten years, seven of the twenty-three companies owned or controlled by National Sea Products have earned about ten million dollars and declared a profit every year. National Sea Products has been able, without much difficulty, to keep its officials in prominent places to take care of its interests. For instance, W. Stanley Lee, president of O'Leary and Lee and a director of National Sea Products, is the only Maritime member of the Fisheries Prices Support Board. He was formerly on the Nova Scotia Wartime Labor Relations Board and when he left he was replaced on the three-man board by another director of National Sea Products, H. V. D. Laing. And C. J. Morrow, another director, is representing the Canadian fishing industry at Geneva.

It seems almost fantastic that a director of National Sea Products, with its alarming record in labor relations and public mulcting, should be a member of a labor board. But, for an employer representative, there was not a great deal of choice. Nova Scotia is hamstrung by two great monopolies, and the selection might have gone instead to the other, Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation.

It is becoming more and more evident that the Fisheries Prices Support Board won't amount to a row of cod-heads. It has no power to set floor prices under fish and there are enough company representatives on it to see that it will come to nothing or, in fact, perhaps lower the price paid fishermen. Under the circumstances, it cannot be expected that the Support Board will as much as investigate the price spread between prices paid fishermen and prices paid by the consumer. There is a possibility that Lee will ask subsidies for the fishing industry, but they can hardly be justified after a thorough examination of the price spread.

The Maritimes have a good example in the co-operatives of how fish can be marketed for the benefit of the fishermen. But there appears to be nothing in the foreseeable future that will break or even threaten the stranglehold that National Sea Products has on the industry in Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia Fishermen

I feel

Dark occupancy of tar and net-lashings
Of fishermen whose barrels lie
Sandfilled and dry,
By whose doors black madonnas
Sift the eye-filled sea, stand by the slip
Where *Ella II*, *Ruth III* and ten others
Scrape the surging swell of green
Of the great Atlantic still.

Men whose red-torn faces reveal
Breast intimacies of dawn and sudden
Spilling from the reeling room
To balance cabers in the sun
When pipes are blown in thin strainings
Of Scottish succession and Irish shock.

From leaning houses, men, whose sides
Diesel-driven in the sea, lend four voices
In guttural protest of gulls
And wet falling from the storm.

I feel

Wild crying from their drunken nights,
Dull oblivion in Sunday suits
Along the blue-road of white rocks,
Along their eastern sea.

D. G. Lockhead.

Albertan Politics

Isabel Mac Millan

► MOST NOTABLE FEATURE of the Alberta political scene at the moment is the Social Credit government's swing to the extreme right. Elected with crusading fervor in 1935 to drive the money-changers out of the temple, the Social Credit hierarchy has long since made its peace with the "Fifty Big Shots." We are no longer surprised when we see in the daily press that representatives of the Alberta government visited the United States to lure Wall Street to Alberta, or are showing films of Alberta's vast undeveloped resources in a frank bid to attract American industry to the province.

So far the government has been successful in persuading the people that it is on their side but such items as the above are not reassuring to Social Credit followers. The reactionary trend of the Social Credit administration is now becoming so apparent that this exposure can no longer be dismissed as CCF propaganda. The government is therefore forced to mend some of its political fences. However, its proposed reforms are proving to be merely sops to the electorate.

For instance, the CCF members of the legislature have been pressing for a representative commission to study the financial relations of the municipalities with the government. Although Social Credit M.P.'s in the House of Commons advocate the abolition of taxes, the fact remains that in Alberta under the Social Credit regime, taxes on farm property have more than doubled since the government took office. Where, for example, the taxes on a farm property were \$113.75 in 1939; they rose in 1947 to \$258.86. In 1935 when Social Credit was first elected to power, they were around \$98.

There has been a great deal of criticism of the government because it met the demand for a review of provincial-municipal tax relations only part-way by appointing its own deputy minister of municipal affairs as a one-man commission. Following a terrific blast against Alberta's social welfare department by the IODE, which conducted an extensive investigation under the direction of Dr. Charlotte Whitton, the government has announced the appointment of a judicial commission to probe the charges. Strong criticism of Alberta mental institutions was voiced in the Legislature at the last session by the Veterans' representative, W. J. Williams, and the government has now announced that a commission will also be appointed to conduct an inquiry into the conduct of these institutions.

Packed mass meetings in the Leduc area have been almost unanimous in their criticism of the government's policy in regard to this major oil field. Except in rare instances, the crown holds the mineral rights and publication of maps shows the complete blanketing of the whole potential producing area by Imperial Oil. Never has private enterprise received more generous treatment from any government. As the *Farm and Ranch Review* points out: "Grants that have been made by the Alberta government are greater in area than are obtainable anywhere in the United States, and compare with the great concessions that dictator governments have issued in South America, in Africa, and in Mexico, where their existence led to revolution and their confiscation."

The farmers are also highly indignant over the meagre allowance suggested as compensation for surface rights: \$1400 initial payment and \$500 a year as long as an oil well is in use.

Due to pressure from the CCF, the government has now announced that the area of leases is cut down and in new

Isabel MacMillan is with *The People's Weekly*, (Edmonton) official paper of the Alberta Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).

areas 50 per cent of the oil lands will be reserved for the province. This doesn't mean that it will be developed by the province. The government says it is going to prevent monopoly control by giving independent companies the chance to scramble for the oil lands reserved by the province. This is a case of locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen, because the Imperial Oil Company now has control of practically all the potential oil lands in the province.

During the 1947 session of the legislature immediately following the strike of oil in the Leduc area the CCF members urged the government to reserve at least part of the oil field for development under public ownership. The answer of the responsible minister was that the suggestion embodied the CCF program but that was not the government's program. Its program was for development of the resources by private enterprise.

Rural education is slipping backward in the province due to lack of sufficient trained teachers and the government's insistence that the municipalities bear the major share of the cost. Alarmed over the deplorable state into which education had been allowed to drift, especially in rural areas, the Alberta Education Council, composed of 26 organizations, voiced vigorous protest in a series of meetings and radio programs last winter. Spearheading this organization were the Alberta School Trustees Association and the Alberta Teachers' Association, labor, farmer and business groups. The government has, however, failed to act on the Council's constructive suggestions and resentment continues to grow in the rural areas.

The government's niggardly attitude toward education does not, however, extend to roads. Hon. W. A. Fallow, Minister of Public Works, has some \$13,000,000 at his disposal this year but Alberta has few good roads. Another point of criticism against the government is the Automobile Accident Indemnity Act which was passed at the 1947 session of the legislature. This virtually compels all motor vehicles to be insured with private companies at prevailing rates. It compares unfavorably with Saskatchewan's Automobile Accident Insurance Act since it is costing Alberta motorists at least \$20 more to get the protection that they obtain in Saskatchewan for \$6.00, or a total burden of \$3,000,000 on Alberta motorists. Furthermore the public liability insurance which Alberta motorists must buy does not provide the insurance protection which is given by the Saskatchewan Act.

Few Alberta farm homes enjoy the benefits of electricity although all farm groups have urged the government to initiate a plan of rural electrification that will be owned, controlled and operated by the province as a public utility. The government however persists in its policy of insisting on private development of electrical power.

The government is not embarrassed now by protests from its own followers. Social Credit as a people's organization has disappeared. Before its marriage with big business it allowed the Social Credit groups to quietly die, thereby eliminating embarrassing requests from discontented followers. It is much more convenient to use the old Liberal underground machine technique—one can always resurrect some good old reliables to act as delegates at zone conventions, etc. Certainly there is a falling away from the government at the moment. Whether it will continue or whether some circumstance will cause support to swing back to it, no one knows.

Unquestionably there is evidence of CCF gains. CCF leaders in the province are more encouraged than they have been since 1935. The CCF sponsors weekly radio broadcasts on four Alberta stations. In previous years these were suspended during the spring and summer months partly because of lack of funds and also partly because it was felt listener-interest was not so great during this period. When it was proposed to follow similar procedure this year there was an insistent demand to continue the programs and it was backed by sufficient contributions to ensure their success.

In the 1944 election the government played both ends to the middle. It got open support of the business elements and daily newspapers because it was regarded as the group which could keep the CCF out, and it retained much of its former support by still talking radically. Under these circumstances the CCF did well to double its 1940 vote.

Social Credit cabinet ministers are not talking radically any more but federal Social Credit Leader Solon Low and the Social Credit Board M.L.A.'s are still making their appeal to the "anti" elements—those who are against high taxes, against Jews, against "Reds," against the United Nations. And so in Alberta we have the spectacle of our Social Credit premier during United Nations Week giving his blessing to the UN while at the same time the Social Credit paper carries a vicious blast by N. B. James, M.L.A., a member of the Social Credit Board, against the United Nations.

The Social Credit appeal in the election, which is likely to take place next year, will be on the basis of "good government." The Bill of Rights, which has been declared ultra vires, will not be an issue. Much to Premier Manning's relief, it is as dead as anything can be. However the "good government" appeal, which will be wholeheartedly welcomed by business interests, may not go over so well in the rural areas which elects 45 of the 60 members of the legislature. The government's new-found Tory backers are prepared to let Social Credit go as far as a Liberal government would go in the way of social security legislation.

What of the Liberals? Harper Prowse, new leader of the Liberal Party, a young man, good-looking, an excellent speaker and at present the army representative in the legislature, is the white hope of the Liberals. There is, of course, no more chance of the Liberals becoming the government of Alberta than there is of Stalin being elected president of the United States. But that doesn't mean they may not play an important part in the next provincial election. In most of the cities and towns of the province there is a core of Liberal support. This went solidly to Social Credit in 1944. In many cases the official Liberal organization was actively backing the Social Credit candidate. It is expected that these Liberal votes will now come back to the Liberal Party. It would appear therefore that the entry of the Liberals into the provincial field, where they will spend a large amount of money on a vigorous campaign, will have more potential danger for the government than for the CCF. It is pretty certain that the CCF will lose no support to the Liberals.

The Independents (largely Conservative) announced their demise early this spring. Later their leader announced their resurrection. Their demise had already been accomplished. Their resurrection is certainly abortive.

And so the fight in the next Alberta election will be between the CCF and the Social Credit government which, while championing the old line party cause, makes adroit moves to placate the more progressive elements in the province.

China's Co-operatives

Dorothy Livesay

►IF, TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, China presents a picture of hunger, war, and skyscraping inflation, there are totally different, positive developments going on inside China. And these developments involve the people of China, whether they live in the Government-controlled or the Communist areas. Such is the message brought recently to Canada by Miss Ida Pruitt, organizer for Indusco, the American Aid to Chinese Co-operatives.

Inside China, the co-operatives are laying the basis for a new China which may be an answer to the western world's problem of over-industrialization. China, arriving late in the industrial field, has been quick to see that congested modern cities, with human beings scrambling on top of each other, are not an essential part of a mechanized age. China's alternative is de-centralization. Even in England today plants are being moved from teeming cities where they are jammed together cheek-by-jowl, and are being transplanted, by government order, to rural areas. But this is the process in which the Chinese government pioneered. They could not have done so, however, without the vision and encouragement of Britishers like Bishop Hall of Hong Kong, a writer named George Hogg, a missionary named Baillie, and a New Zealander with a flair for co-operatives—Rewi Alley.

To this colorful character, Scotch-Irish in parentage but Maori in name, came the opportunity of seeing first hand what industrialization was doing to the Chinese people. As fire inspector in Shanghai between the years 1927 and 1937 he tried, with little success, to improve fire hazards and living conditions of the Chinese laborers. At the same time he became aware of what the old village life had meant to the Chinese. Village life had been entirely self-contained, for the wheat grown by the peasants was brought to the village to be processed. Here also oil was pressed, leather was tanned, wool was dyed and woven, and pottery was fashioned from the local clay. Why couldn't modern industry be brought to the villages, and handled in the same way?

It was the war with Japan which taught China that this could be done. For when entire provinces were cut off from city-processed goods, the age-old law of self-preservation was asserted. A life of regionalist independence came into being again, but this time in a new form. Groups of from seven to thirty "co-operators" organized to start a local industry of goods essential to life: wheat-grinding, blanket-weaving, pottery-making. Each worker had an equal share in the business but there were no outside shareholders. And by this means, all through the war, life went on in hundreds of villages. Staunchest support for the movement had come from the field worker, Rewi Alley. And when, in 1938, the International Committee to Aid Chinese Co-operatives was formed, Alley became its executive secretary. Funds came first from the Philippines, and this enabled Alley to begin organizing in the provinces of the southeast—Kuantung, Kiorgsi, Hunan; and later in Kwangsi, Anhui, Fukien, Honan.

Although co-operation was a logical development for the Chinese, reared on the concept of the family community and the old Chinese guilds, nevertheless the Rochdale system of co-operatives had to be taught. For this purpose an "Association for the Advancement of Industrial Co-operatives" was set up within China to do the educational work

there. Then as local co-ops became established they grew to be independent of the organization's help. Instead they formed regional federations for the exchange of ideas.

Soon the central government was backing the plan. Although not responsible for organizing or running the co-ops, government sponsorship meant that they could borrow money from the banks. In this way, as well as with outside help, a start was made. Supervising accountants and technicians also assisted in giving the "indusco" set-up a responsible status.

Greatest obstacle to the speedy development of the co-ops was the lack of trained technical leadership. And here Rewi Alley benefited by the experience of Baillie, a Shanghai missionary. Of him it had been said: "It takes a crank to make things move." Baillie's "crank" idea was that of teaching Chinese boys engineering not from books only, but from apprenticeship on the job. The idea caught on and it was the boys trained in this way, "the Baillie boys," who formed the leadership nucleus for Alley's plan. His idea was to create a technical school which would be unique: it would teach boys trades, but primarily it would teach them how to live and work in a co-operative.

No sooner was the idea born when the dynamic drive of the New Zealander put it into action. He wanted to set up a school which would in itself be a true village co-operative. He wanted to prove that remote areas could be self-supporting in a co-operative way. So he chose for his experiment the village of Sandan in Kansu province.

Once the capital of Genghis Khan and the gateway to China, this spot became, in modern times, the sleepest of back doors. Once the thriving centre of Marco Polo's silk route, this narrow valley beaded with a chain of green oases today maintains its thousand-year tradition—a peasant-landlord economy. During the war, the American army had planned a route to Iran through this mountainous channel; instead there is only a motor road north of Sandan, on which trucks rumble by to Turkestan.

But in the ancient village today, amongst mosques and temples, signs of change appear. Out of the temple doorways, "snappy as popcorn" as Miss Pruitt described them, two hundred boys and girls tumble from their morning session at the three R's to their afternoon session of ceramics, or leather-tanning, or paper-making. Some head for the foundry or machine shop, others for electricity or transport. A boy does not follow any set course but usually covers a series of trades in his six-year stay. It takes as long as that, according to Rewi Alley, "to get democracy thoroughly grounded in."

Alley has another theory which tends to keep the list of applicants from swamping him. It did not prevent one boy from travelling two weeks on foot to present himself as a student. But he was one of the tough ones who can take what Alley calls "six months hard labor."

"It isn't really hard labor," explained Miss Pruitt, smiling, for she saw the school in action only a few months ago. "But it is dull labor like kitchen or farm fatigue. Rewi Alley believes that the Chinese must break away from their reverence for intellectual labor, and learn to become all-round workers. So the boys who go out, at the age of twenty, to supervise other co-operatives, have a sense of the dignity of their job." She explained that the boys were chosen originally from orphanages and refugee groups but now their names are submitted by the industrial co-operatives. They must be children of laborers or peasants, and both boys and girls are accepted.

Who teaches at the Baillie Memorial Technical training school? That proved to be a productive question. Out of

thirty or forty technicians only a half dozen are westerners. The rest are Chinese. Already to the remote co-operatives two Canadians have found their way and have caught the spirit of the job to such an extent that there is little likelihood of their returning home.

Reva Esser, a prairie girl who was educated in Toronto, is a fabrics specialist. She is with the co-operatives at Lanchow, capital of Kansu province. There she is teaching improved methods in the processing of wool blankets and rugs. Also from Toronto is Hugh Elliot, now head of the electrical section of the Baillie School. A year ago he went there as a volunteer, without salary.

Recently Miss Pruitt received a gift from Elliott, of \$400, from his war savings, asking her to purchase in Canada a sewing machine for leather work, and an electrical blower—both for his school. This equipment will be shipped to China and then proceed by truck to the borders of Turkestan.

"That is the sort of material and personnel we are hoping to recruit in Canada," said Miss Pruitt, who is first emissary to come to this country from the International Committee to Aid Chinese Co-operatives. And she stressed the fact that Canadians should understand that "in spite of the continuing war in the Northwest, the people of China are bringing about their own rehabilitation."

"As yet the co-operative movement in nationalist territory covers only industrial co-operatives and leaves agriculture alone. In communist territory there are five hundred co-ops, both industrial and agricultural. But in both sections of China the co-operative way is becoming essential to the people. And while no permanent solution to China's economic problem can be found until her political problems are solved, nevertheless the new democratic thinking born of the co-operatives is helping to show the way."

Bolivian Politics and Labor

Robert J. Alexander

► A YEAR AGO the rulers of Bolivia were given a lesson the effects of which have not yet worn off. In the Revolution of July 21, 1946, the President, Col. Gualberto Villarroel, was strung up to a lamp post, along with a number of his political supporters. Such was the effect of this event that Bolivia is now passing through one of the few more or less democratic periods in her history.

Early in 1947 presidential and congressional elections were held, in which Dr. Enrique Hertzog, a liberal-minded Catholic, and a leader of the so-called Partido de la Union Socialista Republicana, became president. In Congress this same party came out the biggest single group, but the coalition which had opposed Dr. Hertzog received a slight majority. The Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria was the biggest single group in this coalition, and its leader, Dr. Jose Antonio Arze, was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. This party, the PIR as it is commonly called, is a very controversial element in Bolivian politics. Practically everyone outside of the Party maintains that it is the Bolivian Communist Party, a charge which its leaders stoutly deny. The position of the party is moderate and it certainly does not have the fanaticism which marks the Chilean Communist Party, for example. What can be said with some certainty is that the Bolivian Communists work within the PIR, though perhaps there are other elements in the organization as well.

There are other interesting groups in the Bolivian parliament. The President's own party, the Partido de la Union Socialista Republicana, is somewhat heterogeneous. It con-

sists of an amalgamation of three former parties: the Partido Socialista and two factions of the traditional Partido Republicano. There is at least one wing of the organization which is more or less socialist in its point of view, the wing headed by Dr. Lazcano Soruce. Its socialism is of a somewhat rare variety and it is doubtful how much weight it has on the policies of the present government.

Perhaps the most interesting group in the parliament is the Miners' Block. This is composed of deputies and senators from the mining districts and is a coalition of the remnants of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (the principal backer of the late fascistic Villarroel regime), the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, and independents. The Block is headed by Juan Lechin, the energetic and personable young Secretary General of the Miners' Federation. He was one of the strong men of the Villarroel regime, and is largely responsible—with considerable financial help from the late Colonel's government—for the very strong miners' union organization which now exists. He still admits that he "never resigned" from the MNR, and there are one or two other MNR members in the Block.

In this coalition, too, is the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the official Trotskyite Party of Bolivia, affiliated to the Fourth International. This is perhaps the only country in the world, except for Ceylon, where the Trotskyites have representation in parliament. There are three POR deputies and one senator, all from the mining areas. The POR began boring into the miners' unions in the middle of the Villarroel regime—its enemies say with the help of Villarroel, and the PORistas claim against the MNR and Villarroel.

With the collapse of Villarroel, Juan Lechin was left somewhat high and dry. He was too powerful for the government to touch him, but he needed allies, and the POR provided them. Lechin and the PORistas had worked together even under the previous regime, the POR people alleging that Lechin was "more advanced" than the bulk of the MNR members. At the moment Lechin and the POR group work very closely and together they control the miners' unions, and the Miners' Block.

The miners' unions are not the only ones which have advanced considerably in recent years. There had been sporadic spurts of organization even as far back as 1913, when unions were organized and a Socialist Party founded in Oruro. The labor movement grew fairly steadily from about 1925 until 1932 when the Chaco War broke out. During this war many of the labor leaders were sent to the front by the government and a fair number were killed. In any case, the labor movement was dormant during the war but was revived soon after. In 1936 a general strike brought the downfall of the government then in power and the installation of a regime headed by Col. Toro, one of the heroes of the Chaco War. This regime and its successor, that of Col. Busch, used much Socialist phraseology and stimulated organized labor to a certain degree. It was in 1936 that the Confederacion Sindical de Trabajadores de Bolivia was founded, which continues in existence today. In 1938 a Constituent Assembly was elected which included twenty-some deputies who had been active in and around the labor movement. With the more conservative regimes which succeeded that of Col. Busch from 1939-1943, the labor movement grew, but slowly.

With the advent of the fascist-minded regime of Col. Villarroel in December, 1943, the labor movement took a new turn. The old leaders of the movement, in the CSTB, most of them members of the PIR, were roughly treated, being jailed, exiled, tortured, and submitted to all kinds of barbarities. But on the other hand, the government—in looking for mass support which it lacked—allowed and

stimulated the organization of the mine workers. There had been previous attempts to organize the miners by the anarcho-syndicalists in the late twenties and by the Socialists and Trotskyites later, but these attempts had had no lasting success. However, now the pro-government people went into the mining areas, and succeeded in setting up unions in practically all of the important mines in the country. The government aided then both financially and by putting pressure on the mining companies to accept at least some of the demands put to them by the unions. A general wage increase of nearly 20 per cent was gained, lower prices were achieved in the company stores, and other benefits were brought to the miners. These didn't amount to a great deal, but this was the first time that any government had taken an interest in the fate of the miners. The result was that the miners became the firmest of the Villarroel government's supporters, and Juan Lechin became one of the strong men of the country.

In fact, so strong was Lechin that when the Revolution of 1946 overthrew the Villarroel government, Juan was left untouched. The new authorities feared that if they did anything to Lechin there would be a general uprising of the miners and Indians. So Lechin remains the head of the miners. Some observers believe that his power is beginning to slip as a result of the large number of strikes which the Miners' Federation has called since the downfall of Villarroel. The opponents of Lechin say that these strikes have been called for political reasons to embarrass the government, Lechin says that they are all legitimate walkouts for economic ends. He does not believe that his power is slipping, and points out that the campaign of strikes has been staggered, so that no one union has been out on strike too often. There are fifty-some unions and each of these is having its "turn."

Some would connect the constant strikes of the Miners' Federation with attempts by the MNR group to manage an insurrection against the government. Hardly a week passes that some of the MNR leaders still left in the country are not rounded up and bundled off to exile in Chile. However, Lechin and other mine leaders claim that they have nothing to do with any revolt attempts and couldn't revolt if they wanted to.

The Miners' Federation is now the strongest element in the labor movement, but not the only one. CSTB continues, but has in its ranks mainly craftsmen and artisans and is of secondary importance. Another independent organization is the Railroad Workers' Federation, which has some seven or eight thousand members, is a very tight-knit organization, and tends to steer clear of politics. The fourth element in the labor movement is the Union Sindical de Trabajadores Fabriles, which includes the 18,000 factory workers of La Paz. It too is fairly independent politically, though various elements work within it and the MNR is reputed to have some influence in it.

None of these elements—political or trade union—have done much to resolve any of the fundamental problems which are facing Bolivia. Bolivian politics is even more subject to demagoguery than is the case in most countries. So far none of the parties has been willing to get down to trying to solve the problem of Bolivia's monoproduct economy—which is the key to the matter. Eighty per cent of the population is outside of the economy properly speaking—the Indians who cultivate their land, travel not at all except when they have the misfortune to be drafted into the army, and buy practically nothing. The other 20 per cent is almost completely dependent on the tin industry and the government. With the crisis which is now facing the tin industry, the whole Bolivian economy looks rather dreary. But none of the

politicians has yet come up with any concrete solution for this or any of the other problems which face the country. How long the rather tenuous political democracy which now reigns can continue is a matter for conjecture.

Inter-American Women's Congress

Mildred Fahrni

► THE FIRST Inter-American Congress of Women was held in Guatemala late this summer. It was a powerful effort to enlist the organized intelligent co-operation of the women of the Americas for peace in the face of the peril of atomic and bacteriological warfare.

The Congress was initiated by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which secured the co-operation of other representative women's groups including Zonta International, the People's Mandate Committee, the Pan-American League, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Pilot Club International, the National Council of Negro Women, and the National Association of Altrusa.

Guatemala was not only an artistic but a logical setting for the Congress. Centrally located between the two great continents, it is the meeting place for people from the North and South. Cultures new and old mingle in its towns and villages, without any marked racial prejudice.

Against this background sixty-nine official delegates from eighteen different countries of the Americas spent ten days discussing the problems of their respective areas and trying to find a common basis on which all could work for peace.

Three Canadians were present: Mrs. Helen Drury from Ottawa, representing the National Council of Women, and Miss Beatrice Brigden of Winnipeg and the writer, both representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

While the conference was primarily concerned with the responsibilities of women and determined to help women to realize and accept positions of trust, there was no sense of this being a feminist group working in opposition to the male section of the community. However it was felt that women must play a much greater part in shaping the form of society, and must seek those adjustments in our social set-up necessary to provide this opportunity. In discussing civil and political rights for women and their appointment to public positions, the Congress passed resolutions urging that the same rights be accorded to women as to men. They asked that civil marriage and divorce should be established where they do not exist, that women should have complete freedom in the management of their patrimonial property, that political parties for women be formed to obtain larger representation, and that there should be fuller representation of women in all the departments of the United Nations, the choice of personnel being made from those who have distinguished themselves in the cause of peace.

In order to build up the group of socially-minded women who could make a useful contribution in various areas of social and political life it was felt that a permanent organization should be formed and the first steps to implement this were taken in the setting up of an Inter-American Federation of Women with the organizations represented in the Congress, and provision for the addition of others who would join afterwards. A Secretariat was formed of three members: Miss Heloise Brainerd of Washington, Sra. Carmen de Lozada, a United Nations consultant from South America, both of whom were on the organizing committee of the Congress,

and Mrs. Annalee Stewart, national chairman of the United States section of the WIL. To insure a representative committee the Americas were divided into six blocks with one member chosen from each. Miss Beatrice Brigden was chosen to represent Canada and the United States. Each member was made responsible for the implementation of resolutions within her own area.

The main work of the Congress was done in six commissions which reported to plenary sessions. Much attention was given to the particular problems of the various Latin-American countries, although world issues were not neglected. While women were urged to act within their own groups, many resolutions called for pressure on governments to revise legislation. Repudiating all anti-democratic systems, the Congress urged fuller participation in all public activities to extend and vitalize democracy. They stressed the importance of constant vigilance to safeguard and extend the rights of the common people. It was urged that wherever religious discrimination exists, either by law or custom, that governments be forced to take necessary measures to remove it.

One of the most important topics discussed was that of the responsibility of women in view of the menace of the atomic bomb. Recognizing the imminent threat to civilization, the Congress stressed that a defeatist attitude could not be tolerated but a courageous aggressive attempt must be made to use every means of propaganda to disabuse the minds of people of fear and to substitute an understanding of the constructive possibilities of atomic energy. They urged that the United Nations have wider supervision of research and all industries using atomic materials, that the Security Council have complete control of the atomic bomb, and that all should work for the absolute prohibition of the manufacture of mass destructive armaments of which the atomic bomb and bacteria are principal examples.

Economic security was recognized as basic to a peaceful and democratic society. Resolutions urged that the standard of living be raised through industrialization and modernization of agriculture and that labor be protected by labor codes, minimum wages, social insurance, and health benefits, and the Commission on Human Rights studied the inter-relationship of factors contributing to a low standard of living, and several resolutions urged that the fight against illiteracy be extended through the "Everyone Teach One" plan, and that compulsory primary education be established.

Among the resolutions on health were ones recommending that governments be urged to provide legislation for pre-nuptial health certificates, for courses on sex hygiene in the schools, and for combatting prostitution and establishing rehabilitation hospitals and centres for prostitutes. To remove the stigma of illegitimacy, it was recommended that governments be urged to establish by legislation the equality of natural-born children. To promote Inter-American co-operation the Congress approved the Act of Chapultepec as completed in 1945.

Among practical measures advocated were the use of silver currency, the abolition of passports and the substitution of Inter-American tourist cards, and the establishment of just commercial trade relations and a customs union. While recognizing the financial power of the United States and their dependence on it, the Latin-American delegates stated that the greatest help the United States could give them was not in further building up their military strength but in sending them industrial and technical equipment.

There was support for a free policy of immigration for all war victims in accord with the possibility of absorption, free of racial and religious discrimination.

One outstanding value of the Congress was the wider understanding of their neighbors and their problems that

was gained by both North and South Americans. Appreciation of difficulties made for greater toleration, and bonds of friendship were formed that will stretch across boundaries.

The determination of the delegates to succeed in spite of the great difficulties was well expressed by Annalee Stewart when she said: "The world in its great social upheaval as well as its tragic physical destruction can be directed into a new pattern based on understanding, belief, and faith in one another if men and women will unite to face their common problems instead of fighting about them."

Music on the Air

Allan Sangster

► **SERIOUS MUSIC** on the Canadian air is almost exclusively the concern of the CBC. With pitifully few exceptions the private stations are much too busy pandering to low and mediocre tastes (and coining money thereby) to give either a hoot for or a cadenza to the cultured listener.

The attitude of Radio Canada toward matters musical is a little, but not too far, above this level. Before me is the October issue of "CBC Program News, the Corporation's guide to educational and cultural programs." In sixty-four column inches of discussion of the month's best programs, one item only, three inches deep, deals with music. That item announces the series in which the Toronto and Montreal orchestras will alternate on Tuesday nights.

From the published network schedules we find that on an average day (Wednesday, October 8) CBL and the Trans-Canada Network carry approximately two hours of reasonably good music. In the same sixteen-hour day the station broadcasts some five hours of light music (jive, dance, popular), and two hours of soap opera. On the same day CJBC (Dominion Network key station) has one hour of good music and more than eight hours of what I—and I hope most of the Forum's readers—must call tripe.

It may be said that this picture is unfair, that there *will* be more good music later in the season, that there *is* more on certain other week-days and much more on the week-ends. This seems to me very much like saying that a diet which provides twenty calories in steak and eight thousand in Angel-food on week-days, and on Sundays inverts this proportion, is healthful and nourishing. Any such argument is manifestly nonsense. The patient either tries another dietitian or dies of a surfeit of palFREYS before the week-end is reached.

There is good reason to believe that the appetite for fine music is constant, and it is known that many persons can take Bach for breakfast much more easily than they can ingest Basie. These persons are, if not actually suspect, at least without influence in the National Program Office. For them the Corporation has but one answer: "You take Basie or else . . ." and the nation arises to Two Hours with Holly (claptrap) or Morning Jamboree (more claptrap). Years ago Ronald Hambleton made an excellent attempt to ease the rising-pangs of the adult population, and was allowed to present a morning program of fine and heartening music. He was, however, thrown off the air after a few months, and little of that kind has been permitted since. Any successful effort to get good music on the CBC networks involves a battle of the first magnitude, and that struggle is as nothing by comparison with the effort required to keep it there against the unrelenting pressure of commercial interest and moronic taste.

Examples? Only this fall a long-established program of fine piano music was given a choice. The program could

accept another time, or none. Its sponsors protested, feeling that no available time was as good as that which it had held for at least five years, and that its long tenure gave it some right to consideration, especially since its offerings were of higher than average quality. The piano music is no longer available. In its place we can hear, though many of us don't want to, Sammy Kaye's Sunday Serenade. The reason is not far to seek: the urge to keep program quality high is weak and vacillating; commercial pressure is strong and never rests. The piano music's sponsor wanted only a small network, since typewriters do not sell well in rural areas; Sammy Kaye's sponsor was eager to buy the whole Dominion network, since hair is washed everywhere.

Good music, apparently, is at the bottom of the CBC's priority list, and programs of no cultural value whatever can brush it aside. Latest example is the shelving of the Dominion Network's afternoon concert hour in favor of the World's Series. A strong, intelligent CBC executive, one might think, would recognize that both baseball and soap-opera appeal to, roughly, the same low and middle tastes. If time had to be found for baseball it should have been found at the expense of the full-hour-five-days-a-week soap operas which disfigure CBL's schedule, thus leaving one network open for better material. But since Jean Beaudet's resignation (now more than two months ago) the CBC has had no supervisor of music, no senior official whose responsibility is music and who might be expected to fight for it. Among the executives left in what many of them describe as a much too Frigonized organization there seems to be not one who cares enough for good music to buck successfully the steady and implacable tide of opposition.

In all this doleful divertimento there is one small note of hope. It can be heard at seven forty-five Tuesday nights on CBL (but not, unfortunately, on the network) and is called Mainly About Music. In these fifteen minutes Lister Sinclair talks learnedly, entertainingly, often very pointedly, sometimes a little patronizingly, about music, musicians, and the CBC. Any organization which can take the sometimes unmerciful needling which Mr. Sinclair hands out, and which not only has the tolerance and decency to allow it air time but actually pays Mr. Sinclair for it, is perhaps not entirely beyond redemption.

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Inside India

AMERICAN SAHIB

by John Frederick Muehl

The author gives the inside story of appalling poverty, famine and political ferment in India. This dark picture is lightened, however, with humour and with a sense of the patient philosophy that sustains India. "An honest, angry book."—*New York Herald Tribune*. \$3.00

LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY

Autumn

The river is dry at the mouth,
Lips swollen with cold,
And hills are blind barren sockets
That see no velvet in the sky.
Hills are a defeated man
With hands in his pockets
Walking away with no defense,
With no urge to avenge the slap of autumn.

Wind is an unhinged gate
Echoing hysterically
Against a post.
Wind is a dry story-teller
Weaving a logical episode
To which no one listens and sanity becomes mad.

The trees spin their colorless paper
And each one is a variegated bill
For champagne splendor,
And waltzing with the clouds
Each one is a reminder of lust and silk,
Held for a minute and now unredeemed.

Autumn is a condemned man
With his wildest wish but one come true,
Too soon marched away.

Nathan Ralph.

Shadowiness

In the cold and silent streets
At midnight,
When the ground
Makes footsteps ring out louder,

The dogs howl,
The gates creak,
And on the street corners
The whimpering of the workers' children
Sounds fainter.

Blood is on my forehead
For fear of being the same tomorrow
As I am now today.

Yet it does not matter.
What you are feeling now
Will some day sprout within the earth,
Which nourishes our glances
With its sheaves.

Fernando de Leon Pourras—
(translated by Tom Irving).

Nocturne

The moon cannot be either cold or warm.
It is only the reflection of a face
We never see.
It hangs there in the sky
And the white herons fly past it,
Disappearing in its lights
While I sit, waiting by the edge of the stream,
Listening to the soft noises
The young girls make
As they gather flowers out of the water
To place on their pillows
When they go to sleep.

Alex Austin.

Parade

White with white and black with black,
Female walks beside the male.
Wagging head by careless tail:
Solemn trunk by stealthy back:

Each pair is unique of kind:
Each one feels within its mate
Equal love and equal hate:
There is nothing else to find.

Only man, his vision cleft,
Seeks beyond his first degree:
Turns his back and will not see
What asylum he has left.

Subtle knowledge comes to him,
Lonely on his narrow routes:
While the simple, ancient brutes
Two by two make mock of him.

Margaret R. Gould.

Morning Coffee

At nine-thirty the caustic morning light
Cracking in fusty restaurant corners
Makes derelicts of us all. We are the long
Slow coffee drinkers, staring through curled smoke
Into our sleazy heads. Back and forth
The woman goes who mops the floor, shifting
Her pail, jerking the table, moving her lips
In silent effort to assert her world.
She shuttles through our thoughts, sole integrator
Of varied phantasies and ugly plans;
So each must weave a strand of woman mopping
Into the egocentric circle of his head.
Outside the passersby go sharply swift
Like comets briefly brushing atmosphere,
Muttering claims of noiseless inwardness
To sole possession of the universe.
Inside and out, in geometric plague,
The self-expanding circles wheel and clash
Leaving no space, crowding out common ground.
No god-term here emerges. Words are splintered
Sound from spinning circumferences, while symbols
Of molten mass are rendered meaningless.
The woman mopping has gone away and there
Is nothing new but heads, boundlessly growing.

Violet Anderson.

The Desert

Irresolute, unutterable sadness—
Aura, rather, in that pain refutes
Elan, or vice versa—sensual madness
In the tropics; condiment of ice.
And mind, the intra-mural vision, hangs
Above the chaos, blindly love—the infra-
Plural view—and twangs the catch-as-can.

Inordinate, inexplicable essence—
Sorrow, rather, in that love creates
The desert with the wanderer—coalescence
In the being; elegaic myth.
And heart, the virus omen, trembling spills
The acid while the art—implacid eros
Momentary—kills the murdered man.

Clarence Alva Powell.

Always Lonely Watching

Carol Ely Harper (STORY)

► LEEZA ROFTON wasn't allowed to play with the other little girls in her neighborhood. When the gang of girls played dress-up, or gave an Indian play on the lawn and wore slacks and beads from wild rose haws, or gave a funeral for a robin they found dead, Leeza, blonde and sedate and thin and short, sat on the steps of her front porch across the street, and watched wistfully.

Mrs. Rofton didn't let Leeza play with the gang because the gang had a leader, a girl with more initiative and inventiveness than the rest, and Mrs. Rofton was afraid that if Leeza played with the gang she would never use her own initiative, or develop any inventiveness of her own, but always be under the girl leader's thumb. So year in and year out, until she was through high school, Leeza just sat on her front steps and watched. The other girls got to going around a little with boys, but somehow Leeza didn't. She just sat and watched that, too. Boys didn't come around her. Maybe it was because she was so silent. She never went in for anything, just watched. It seemed like she didn't have any social sense.

Then her mother left home and got a job teaching, so she could send Leeza away to the church college. Mr. Rofton didn't make enough for that. He was just a painter. He made enough, but not enough, Mrs. Rofton thought. So she was only home nights and took the bus into the neighboring little town where she taught the fourth grade. And she got brown, instead of white; and with her black hair and her skin brown-wrinkled and thin on her bones, she looked like a witch, the neighbor girls said, when they weren't busy going to the home-town college, or getting married, or having babies.

Then the next thing the neighborhood knew, Leeza was back. Mrs. Rofton had gone unexpectedly to the church college on a visit, and discovered Leeza in a room smoking with some other girls. So Mrs. Rofton decided the church college wasn't all she had expected it to be. And she put Leeza in the home-town college. Under Mrs. Rofton's rigid supervision, Leeza still didn't seem to develop any of the leadership, initiative, or inventiveness that Mrs. Rofton wanted her to. The neighbor girls said Leeza might have if she could have stayed on at the church college, out from under her mother's iron rule. Mrs. Rofton did all Leeza's thinking for her, they said. Mrs. Rofton, they said, didn't know it, but she was making an old maid out of Leeza.

Once or twice while Leeza was finishing college, a car or two stopped at the Rofton front steps and a boy got out, or took her away. But never more than once. She didn't seem to know how to associate with people. She didn't have any girl friends either. Yet she was a pretty girl, that is, if she hadn't got so she always had that sort of sour look on her face. The neighborhood girls, all married now, said, "Too bad. . . ." Leeza was graduated and after a while got to working in the bookkeeping department of the local member of a national chain of variety stores. She seemed extraordinarily efficient there, but she still had no friends, and that sour look on her face got deep.

Ten years passed. The mother didn't have to teach any more but she had got so set in it now that she'd got so she couldn't think of anything else. She even seemed to let Leeza slip out of her mind. Maybe Mrs. Rofton was getting old; she looked like a fanatic now as well as a witch. They say she was a marvelous teacher, a demon of efficiency, that though the pupils didn't like her she certainly got results.

She found she did better teaching not to come home except week ends. Mr. Rofton had sort of gone to seed. He roamed around from town to town now, on various contracts, painting, and seldom was home. Leeza kept house for herself, her own boss at last.

But the neighborhood never saw anything of her. Nobody did except the variety store, and another class that she took up with, the pool-hall men. It was a strange thing, but now the sour look left her face and was replaced by a sly, even brazen, look, and she began to be most smartly dressed. The neighborhood girls began to read of the bowling tournaments Leeza was winning. She became the champion woman bowler of the town. She was never home except during the night sometime. She hardly spoke to the neighborhood girls when she would meet them accidentally. Whenever they were in the variety store, where she was head bookkeeper, she disregarded them as completely as if they did not exist. But there were men, smartly dressed, too, on the street, they saw, that she greeted with such a violent vividness that it was abnormal.

Then the neighborhood girls noticed that if they got up early enough—yes, very, very, very early, about sun-up, in fact, they'd generally see a car, which wasn't Leeza's, parked in front of her house. It would go away, then, with a man in it. The same car would be there for two or three months, maybe, except when Mr. or Mrs. Rofton was home, then Leeza was the old, isolated Leeza. Then Mr. or Mrs. Rofton would leave and it would be the man and the car again. Sometimes the man and car changed to another man and a car.

But Leeza never married. She kept up with the paint and smart clothes, and that brazen look on her face tightened and hardened.

Recordings

Milton Wilson

► SIR THOMAS BEECHAM has selected a group of short pieces by Handel and arranged them into the score for a ballet, *The Great Elopement*. The music is charming, and Beecham, who conducts it with the London Philharmonic on a recent Victor set, plays it well. No one, I think, would class it with the *Water Music*, nor is it quite the equal of one of Beecham's earlier compendiums, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, but the set does make a very pleasant half hour's listening.

The recording companies have been kind to Debussy's late chamber and piano music recently, and we may now be better equipped to solve some of the many problems in Debussy's development and significance. The theory that he failed to fulfill his potentialities after *La Mer* (written in mid-career) is generally discarded, and many see in his last big work, the three *Images for Orchestra* (*Iberia*, *Gigues*, and *Rondes de Printemps*), his greatest and most mature achievement. The late chamber music, however, has not received as much response. Listening to Columbia's new recording of the *Sonata No. 2* for flute (John Wummer), viola (Milton Katims), and harp (Laura Newell), the next to last work he wrote, the most casual listener can see why. The music is refined and subtle, but so tenuous that at first hearing there is nothing, apparently, to take hold of, nothing fresh or vital, just a succession of beautifully molded wisps of melody. One must recognize the skill with which the composer has written for his chosen combination, but the validity of the result remains in question. It is quite possible, however, that frequent hearings may dispel whatever mist there is, and reveal something worth seeing.

Film Review

D. Mosdell

► TWO OF HOLLYWOOD'S VETERAN ACTORS—Robert Montgomery and Charles Chaplin—have been taking matters into their own hands and making some interesting experiments lately; Montgomery has apparently come back from the war with ideas; Chaplin, of course, has always had them. Neither of their pictures will be a smash hit, but both are well worth seeing.

Montgomery directs and acts in *Ride the Pink Horse*, from a novel by Dorothy B. Hughes. He plays a returned veteran of dubious antecedents whose best friend has been rubbed out by a big-time gangster he was blackmailing. Gagan (Montgomery) decides to avenge his pal, Shorty, by carrying on where he left off, and follows the gangster, Hughes, for the purpose to a small New Mexico village, which happens to be celebrating a fiesta when he arrives. A small mousy F.B.I. man on the trail of the same gangster meets Gagan and offers to collaborate with him; but Gagan sternly refuses help on the grounds that the Government, from all he can figure out, has been working for the gangster, and others like him, all through the war. Well, as you might expect, even Montgomery, single-handed, is no match for a gangster, and Gagan is just about to follow Shorty into the hereafter when the F.B.I. man intervenes and saves his life. Beaten to his senses by the mob, Gagan finally turns over all his damaging evidence to the Government man, and returns to New York none the worse for his trip, except for a rather attractive black sling on his left arm. Idea Number One is thus developed: that whatever his opinion of constituted authority, the individual stands no chance against organized law-breakers, and must throw in his lot with the law, which however corrupt in itself, is still the only force strong enough to combat gangsterdom.

Idea Number Two is put across rather more subtly. The Mexicans who play a part in the story do so out of sympathy with the individual as such. Their life is keyed to a low economic scale and a placid tempo, full of its own generousities and comedy; the presence of the gangsters in the town appears as a kind of alien fungous growth on an otherwise healthy society, a temporary visitation, like a nightmare. The sixteen-year-old Mexican girl who befriends Gagan does so from compassion and romantic sympathy; when he goes to say good-bye to her, expecting tears and pleading, she meets him with almost casual dignity, and says good-bye quite composedly. Looking back as he leaves, Gagan sees her acting out the whole dramatic story in lively pantomime for the benefit of a crowd of inquisitive children her own age and younger. Both Gagan and our local audience seemed quite disconcerted at being cheated out of the traditional final clinch . . . Montgomery's ideas may not be impressive in themselves, but his method of presenting them is genuinely cinematic.

The Chaplin film, *Monsieur Verdoux*, has been too widely discussed elsewhere to warrant much description here. By and large, the critics seem to have been either hysterically on the defensive about it, or unusually petulant. James Agee calls it a masterpiece by a great artist, and calls his colleagues fools for being unperceptive enough to find long stretches of it dull. To my mind, *Monsieur Verdoux* is a tour de force, not a masterpiece; nor is it dull. Chaplin's earlier pictures, however, could be counted on to establish a single sympathetic mood in his audience; terrible and ridiculous things happened to The Little Fellow, but our laughter was always affectionate. *Monsieur Verdoux* is artificial comedy with a vengeance; there is no genuine emotion

anywhere in the picture; it might easily be sub-titled "The Business Man Looks at Love." At the same time the audience, (and apparently the critics) show an eager willingness to be duped, to fall into a romantic mood, especially with the bait of Chaplin's incomparable elegance and grace; only to have each time some incongruous detail or dénouement kick the rose from between their teeth . . . and this time, because the element of sympathy is lacking, the offence is unforgivable.

Chaplin's defence of murder, incidentally, is only made plausible because in the picture nobody really falls in love with anybody else; the terrible traffic in human emotion which in a real-life situation of that kind would be implicit and inevitable is quite absent; there is almost no moral problem involved. *Time's* critic remarked that Chaplin's "message" is too highbrow for general audiences, and too naive for highbrows. Actually, naiveté has nothing to do with it; Chaplin's is a logical argument, bombinating in a vacuum, because he has deliberately left out human factors and elements which, if considered, would make his position almost untenable. Chaplin is no social philosopher, but he is undeniably an artist, with or without the bowler hat and baggy pants which first made him famous. Finally, I cannot see that references to his private life, or to his activities during the war, have any relevance to a discussion of his art. What can the critics have been thinking of?

The Bigot's Farewell

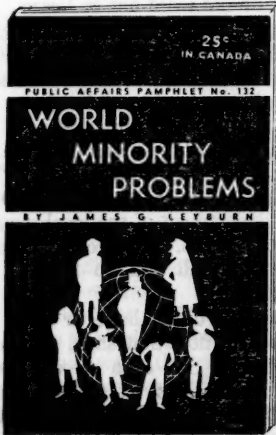
There's nae mair blacks to lynch my dear
And nae mair seats for me.
The Reds are in the Senate Hoose,
Today I'll gin gang free.

For a' things come and a' days gane;
Let Mead's committee stare
The Klu Klux Klan would keep me on
The Senate ever mair.

My seat is lost and bigots losing,
And what was I to gie?
A solid clean united South
Wi' White supremacy!

The Reds sit i' the Senate Hoose
The Negroes at the poll.
But I'll gang wi' Columbians
And save the Southern soul.

Thersites.



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CORRESPONDENCE

FILM BOARD

The Editor:

I have read with some interest and more astonishment the editorial comment on the National Film Board published in your September issue. I realize that the opinions expressed in the editorial are your own. It is a pity that so many of the facts you gave are also so completely your own. Some of them are extraordinarily inaccurate.

Let me take paragraph two. You say in referring to the work of the Board that "since the war, the stream of production has become a trickle." I think it would have been well to examine our production program for the last fiscal year and for this one before making this comment. The fact is that the production program is a very extensive one in spite of a somewhat reduced budget. All of the types of film you refer to as having been produced during the war are being produced now. In other words we are continuing to issue theatrical subjects as well as a large number of 16 mm. films directed to farmers and industrial workers, kodachrome films on the Canadian scene, and brilliant pieces of animated work. No other similar organization anywhere in the world has maintained its production level as successfully as has the Film Board during the post-war period. To anyone looking, say, at the St. Lawrence River, the Thames may appear to be a trickle but to anyone with sense the Thames is still a mighty river. It is true that our appropriation now is somewhat lower than it was during the last year of the war, but it is not true that this year's appropriation is slightly better than last year's. It is somewhat lower. The Film Board's budget for the current fiscal year is approximately 13 per cent lower than it was at its peak during the fiscal year 1945-46.

You say that it was "natural" that eminent British figures who came to start this enterprise should disappear. Maybe it was inevitable that some of these should disappear. Among the five you mentioned, however, McLaren is still with us and Hawes left for a two-year period only at the urgent request of the Australian Government which required the services of a senior producer. I know also of several eminent British figures who would dearly love to spend a while with us, and several French, Australian, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch and West Indian figures as well.

Now about the natives. Some have gone into other fields. Four of them are presently on scholarships awarded by the French Government. One is on a scholarship awarded by the Carnegie Corporation for study in the United Kingdom and others are busily helping either other countries or the United Nations Organizations in carrying out their work. The many natives who remain with us find inside the Board, I am sure, a great deal of creative and imaginative opportunity and certainly a reasonable degree of freedom in expressing themselves. We cannot be in our work entirely fancy free; we are bound to be restrained by fact.

In another paragraph you say that the 35 mm. work of the Board is losing its quality and is being boycotted by the commercial distributors. This is simply nonsense. The Film Board productions are being regularly distributed through hundreds of Canadian theatres on a monthly basis and they are being distributed not by one commercial distributor only but by several and, from all the information we have, with a good deal of satisfaction to distributors, exhibitors, audiences, and ourselves. It is only since the war for example, that we have successfully distributed a feature-length documentary and we are shortly releasing at least two more films of some forty minutes length through our commercial distributors.

I think you will find in all these pictures ample evidence that the Board is very well equipped with native talent and that it has a great deal of faith in itself and, more important still, in Canada.

Ross McLean, Film Commissioner, Vancouver, B.C.

[Trickles and Thameses apart, Mr. McLean and we have both said that budget, staff, and hence production are down. We are sorry that the financial situation is worse than we thought, glad that McLaren and Hawes will return, and mystified by the picture of a polyglot band of filmmakers vainly beating at NFB's doors. "Boycott" was too strong, "distributors" a slip for "exhibitors." In Toronto at least it is still rare to see a Board production, apart from newsclips.

Our editorial rose out of enthusiasm for NFB's functions and achievements, and anxiety that Canadians should recognize these before Tory malice and government timidity end them. The Commissioner wastes his indignation on NFB's friends.—Editors.]

DOSCO

The Editor: In regard to Mr. Wade's letter in *The Canadian Forum* of October: I did not mean to imply that miners worked a ten-hour day in all coalfields, although Mr. Wade admits that the shift is sometimes longer than eight hours. I was pointing out that DOSCO was attempting to put into force a ten-hour stretch in some pits. Happily enough, it wasn't able to do so. Eight hours is surface-to-surface and does not include, for many miners, the lengthy time it takes to go and come from the pit-head.

To get to the main point: though Mr. Wade says that American coal undersells Nova Scotia coal in the Montreal market, he does not explain how DOSCO was able to sell three million tons on the Montreal market each year, more than half the total production in Nova Scotia pits. It seems unlikely that Central Canada, which has never been noted for lending a helping hand to the Maritimes, would buy DOSCO coal simply because it is Canadian. I, for one, would like to know the answer.

However, Mr. Wade's points are well taken. American coal is a big headache to the Nova Scotia industry and it is interesting to point out that Freeman Jenkins, president of the united mine workers, has been laying more and more emphasis on the need for mechanization. But the process is terribly slow. DOSCO now has only one completely mechanized mine and it still is not in production. Even when it does get going there is much doubt that its production will exceed five tons per man shift, which will be below output in comparative American mines.

Donald Peterson, Halifax, N.S.

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TRANS-CANADA

► WE NOTE WITH PLEASURE that Robert Tyler Davis has been appointed Director of the Art Association of Montreal and chairman of the newly formed Fine Arts Department of McGill. For the past eight years he was Director of the Museum of Art, Portland, Oregon. Before that we recall his splendid work at the Albright Gallery in Buffalo in public education and gallery showmanship.

* * * *

► AN ATTRACTIVE BOOKLET on Canada has just been released by the Department of External Affairs for circulation in foreign countries. The layout is good, photos lively, the color plates of Canadian painting are pretty awful reproductions but it is good to see some bounce in Canadian publicity at last.

* * * *

► THE ACORN planted last year by the New Play Society is doing some sprouting. A year ago there were controversial plays and two North American premieres on their bill of fare, now they are getting established on a firm basis and plan to play in various Ontario centres this winter, going on tour with *Macbeth* and *Cherley's Aunt*, a somewhat curiously assorted pair of plays. They are giving a number of performances of each play now, and extra ones for schools. If all goes well, they hope next year to form a full time permanent company doing one play per month, one week in Toronto and two on the road.

* * * *

► WHY, we wonder, was it necessary to get Princess Alice to shop in London for antique silver for Princess Elizabeth's wedding gift from Canada? We have, after all, first rate metal workers and designers in this country who could have been commissioned to make an original design. On the other hand, we hear that Harold Stacey is now designing three dozen place settings for use in the Canadian embassy in Washington.

* * * *

► THE REPRINT SOCIETY of Canada has just been formed and its first selection, Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* is appearing now. Closely affiliated with the Reprint Society of England which has over 100,000 members, the Society plans to reprint English and American authors and distinguished Canadians. Already we can think of a number of Canadian books long out of print which are still in demand and only to be had at fabulous prices as items of Canadiana.

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TURNING NEW LEAVES

► THE authors of *No Peace for Asia* and *American Sahib** are middle class Americans who have written books about Asia after considerable travels in that miserable continent. Mr. John Frederick Muehl, the author of *American Sahib*, has had an immense advantage over Harold R. Isaacs, the author of *No Peace for Asia* in that he is not a journalist making a career under the American press lords. Without the disadvantage of eighteen years experience as a newspaperman (which is the heavy handicap of Mr. Isaacs) Mr. Muehl has had the opportunity to be a good reporter. And he has risen to his opportunities. *American Sahib* is often awkward in style and trivial in content. It is disfigured with errors of fact and youthful verbosity. But *American Sahib* is a rewarding book. Its author was a member of the American Field Service attached to the Indian Army. Unequipped with anything but a bit of general education, a vast ignorance and a few humanitarian instincts, Mr. Muehl looked at India without the advantage of inside information, ideological preconceptions or class prejudices. He has come up with a book which rings true.

American Sahib is at times incredible: as incredible as the statistics of ill health, malnutrition and misery which fail to register in the dull and respectable publications of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Mr. Muehl's account of his experiences at the crematorium where the authorities disposed of the Calcutta famine victims would never get on a CP wire or into an External Affairs file. His encounter with a maimed British Tommy hospitalized after his experiences in a Field Punishment Centre tells more, perhaps, about British class relations than ever gets into political science textbooks. His reports of conversations in the Poona Club are scarcely cricket, but they are enlightening.

American Sahib should be a warning to the American people. Mr. Muehl has provided us with snapshots of the moral degradation, futility and incompetence which is the end product of imperialism: of attempts to give world leadership (and make profits). There is no reason to suppose that Americans can do any better than the British. On the contrary, they will probably do a good deal worse. The implication of *American Sahib* would seem to be that the Americans will do well not to take up where the British are leaving off.

No Peace for Asia is not properly speaking a report on anything except its author's despair. Mr. Isaacs would appear to belong to the growing majority of American journalists who have graduated from the humble task of reporting to the more exalted labor of telling the great American boobocracy what to think. Sophisticated, facile and not unendowed with warm sympathy for the underdog, Mr. Isaacs devotes himself to an explanation of why Asia is the focal point of the unfinished business of history: the world conflict between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

It would appear according to Mr. Isaacs that every clash and conflict in Asia (and Asia is liberally endowed with clashes and conflicts) is related in some way or other with the struggle for power between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Mr. Isaacs is too sophisticated, however, to regard this struggle as a conflict between good and evil, between dark and light. Instead he sees it as a struggle between a decadent, pot-bellied capitalist power and a totalitarian police state of an extremely dark character. On the whole Mr. Isaacs seems to prefer a pot belly to a dose of what he calls quasi-communism.

*NO PEACE FOR ASIA: Harold R. Isaacs; Macmillan; pp. 295; \$3.50.
AMERICAN SAHIB: John Frederick Muehl; Longmans; pp. 242; \$3.50.

Unfortunately for Mr. Isaacs' thesis the record even in his own telling would seem to confound his dark prophecies of inevitable conflict. Agreeing with Mr. Isaacs that the Soviet Government has abandoned the generous revolutionary internationalism of Lenin's day and that its objectives have become narrowly nationalist and even imperialist, it is still hard to see how the acts of the Soviet Government in Asia (or anywhere else outside the offices of the AP, the UP, INS and the U.S. State Department) are leading directly to collision with the U.S.A. unless the U.S.A. wants it that way. In the present realigning of power internationally the Soviet's gains have been very modest. They are in no way comparable to the forward march of the U.S.A. The Soviets in Asia have acquired two warm water ports (the only ones they possess) of which one is under their exclusive jurisdiction. They have acquired some islands off their own coast. They have embarked with the Americans upon a ridiculous joint occupation of Korea which appears to be bad for the Soviets, bad for the Americans and doubly bad for the Koreans. On their own initiative they have de-industrialized Manchuria before withdrawing their forces within their own frontiers. Having regard for the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet character of the Chinese Government, an experience of three Japanese attacks in 40 years and the presence of Americans under the command of a would-be Napoleon in Japan and China (and armed with atomic weapons) the Soviet "expansion" looks more like the timid gestures of a pretty scared power than the crouch of an imperialist tiger.

Mr. Isaacs is intelligent enough to know that the record of Soviet actions in Asia does not add up to anything dangerous to either the native inhabitants or the American intruders in Asia. In order to make his case he introduces us to the well-known dangers presented by the Communists and their dupes. But here again the record in Mr. Isaacs' own relation leaves this reviewer undisturbed in his anti-Communist moments and unhelpful in his pro-Communist moments. The Communists have little or no influence in India and Indo-China and none in Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Siam or the Philippine Islands. In China the Communists are a considerable element. But here Mr. Isaacs cannot reveal anything to show that the Chinese Communists have more than a "spiritual" connection with Moscow. Moscow does nothing and influences everything according to Mr. Isaacs. This do-nothing policy is in Mr. Isaacs' view an aspect of the Kremlin's superior guile.

In spite of his mystical belief in the power of the common people which he embroiders with quotations from Sandburg, Mr. Isaacs (who draws his pay cheques from Vincent Astor) has no faith at all in the peoples of Asia. He is hypnotized by the power of the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., to such a degree that he cannot see what both present facts and past history suggest, viz., that in Asia we are witnessing today the bloody, stupid death agonies of imperialism whether British, American, French, Japanese or Russian.

One of the most worthy things in Mr. Isaacs' record is his expulsion from Chiang-kai Shek's China. His description of Chiang and the Chinese "government" is a masterpiece of realistic dissection. After reading Mr. Isaacs on the subject about which he speaks with the most authority, one is hard put to recall from the annals of history or pick from the record of the present a regime which combines so much cynical corruption with so much incompetency. It is a pity that Mr. Isaacs' passion for ideological consistency has required him to reduce his analysis to absurdity by making Stalin responsible for Chiang. This represents the worst and final thing which Mr. Isaacs can say about Stalin. Mr. Isaacs' reasoning runs thus: if Stalin's stooge, Michael Boro-

din, had not perverted and misled the Chinese revolution Chiang would have sunk to his natural level which presumably would be that of a cashier in a brothel. If Stalin and Borodin had kept out of Chinese affairs or had given the Chinese genuine revolutionary leadership à la Trotsky the world (or at least Europe and Asia) would now be a happy socialist paradise and Mr. Isaacs would, we imagine, be manufacturing socialist propaganda for the stimulation of the masses instead of working the street where he now lives.

H.S.F.

BOOKS REVIEWED

THE PRESS THE PUBLIC WANTS: Kingsley Martin; Oxford; pp. 143; \$2.25.

Written doubtless to promote intelligent interest in the Labor Government's Royal Commission, this little book by the editor of *The New Statesman* is a thoughtful examination of the British press and some of the ways by which, without endangering its real freedom, it could be made more responsible and subservient to the public interest. Mr. Martin traces the now familiar process by which the popular press, falling into fewer and fewer hands, has become the instrument of personal whims and ambitions and private wealth through catering primarily to the public taste for sensation and amusement. He is not inclined to blame the publishers for this. But, although the resultant press has come to have less and less influence in determining men's political actions, it has performed a disservice by creating impressions about the world which are often false and dangerous. He shows, for instance, how English newspapers over the course of a century or more have helped to switch back and forth the common man's conception of who are Britain's national friends or enemies.

Various proposals to reform press ownership and management are examined: taxation of advertisements; abolition of individual or joint stock ownership in favor of co-operative control (the Webb's solution, now in practice in Czechoslovakia); a State or Governmental press managed by a "journalistic judiciary," as suggested by Norman Angell; compulsory printing of corrections; a column of outside criticism in every newspaper; improvements in the professional quality of journalists. Mr. Martin himself, while he favors a great diversification of ownership including ownership by co-operatives, sees most promise in the last-mentioned remedy. "It is part of my thesis that journalism should be a profession, and newspapers not commercial institutions but public concerns . . . the object is to increase the responsibility of the press while not in any way endangering its freedom of news presentation and comment. We want



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a larger variety of papers, independent editors, and professional standards for journalism . . . If journalists themselves take the matter up and insist on higher standards, they can within each newspaper office achieve very important results."

Encouraged by an increasing public disposition to demand more accurate news information, the author ends with some observations of the kind of education needed to accelerate this trend and fit men for world citizenship. Pointing out that "we exaggerate when we pretend that no positive dogmas are taught in our schools," he contends that "if our main hope of improving the information and quality of public opinion lies not in administrative change but in education, then the purely national morality of many of our schools will have to be changed and a new generation must be educated in the world outlook which we are agreed is essential . . . I believe that world democracy is practicable, if it means a centralized economic and political framework within which live an endless variety of small communities to which men will attach their primary loyalty. . . . The instruments of propaganda and organization of education have to be deliberately directed to this social pattern."

Carlton McNaught.

THIRTY-ONE SELECTED TALES: H. E. Bates; Clarke, Irwin & Co. (Jonathan Cape); pp. 414; \$2.75.

A new volume of short stories by H. E. Bates needs no recommendation to the connoisseur; the excellence of his work has been generally recognized for some years now. This collection, which contains what are probably the best stories from five earlier books, offers again evidence of his amazing variety in setting and theme. Its range extends from the poignant beauty of "A German Idyll," a story which invites favorable comparison with Galsworthy's "Apple Tree," to the sexual horror of "The Man Who Loved Cats." In each story the technical mastery, the perfect achievement of the proper background and atmosphere, and a fine economy of means are at once apparent.

Uninterrupted reading of the entire collection, however, admittedly an unfair test, but one the reviewer is put to, discloses certain limitations in Mr. Bates' work. Not a few of the stories are rather too obvious in plot. "The Machine," in which the man who worships machinery is finally destroyed by a machine, and "The Earth," in which an old couple are shown to be weaker in mind than a son they have brought up almost as an imbecile, are two cases in point. Several other stories suggest similar treatments of the same themes by other writers.

Mr. Bates has really but one method of telling a story, whatever the subject may be. A symbol, a set of symbols, or a succession of symbols always conveys whatever is at the core of the story, whether it be a case of frustration, the nature of a character, the experience of an individual, or the conflict between characters. It is useless to point out that most of the symbols are not so simple and painfully obvious as the piece of eighteenth century brocade (in the story "Chateau Bougainvillea") of which the wife sees only the beauty and her draper's-assistant husband only the present market value; it is not enough to point out that the symbol may be employed with elaborate application, as in "The Bridge," where the bridge has meaning on at least two levels and has different meaning on these levels to the two sisters in the story; it will not even help to admit that the symbols are often fresh and almost always successful in achieving the author's ends. The final truth is that, read in rapid succession, these stories suddenly become unbearably monotonous.

Mr. Bates, then, is not a great writer of the short story. He is, however, in spite of these defects, an excellent writer, and we have too few who are. For the occasional reading of

a story or two (and how else should the short story ever be read?) this volume can be enthusiastically recommended.

Robert N. Hallstead.

STRAVINSKY: Eric Walter White; Jonathan David; pp. 192; \$4.50.

Mr. White's book, the second he has written on Stravinsky, seems to be little more than a set of program notes for all of Stravinsky's works, and, like most program notes, it treats with caution or disregard the more interesting problems, while, at the same time, it provides a great deal of useful information. Stravinsky the man does not receive close scrutiny, and only a casual attempt is made to compare him musically with his contemporaries or place him historically, although something is said briefly of his predecessors. Two short chapters treat his retreat into neo-classicism (the "sacrifice to Apollo") and his historical method of composing. So short are they, however, that Mr. White is reduced to flat generalizations which are hard to swallow without further proof. Argument is possible as to whether Stravinsky's neo-classicism is a reversal upon reaching an impasse (as Cecil Gray or Constant Lambert would claim) or merely (as Aaron Copland claims) a development of the "objectivism" of *Petrushka* and *Le Sacre* and *Les Noces* applied to different material. There are, indeed, many different ways of viewing Stravinsky's development. Mr. White is, no doubt, aware of these, but he fails to give them enough consideration in his book. Stravinsky's historical method and its relation to the experiments of Cocteau, Pound and Eliot demand a great deal more than casual and uncritical allusions. Useful as Mr. White's book is, it fails to take a hold on its subject, and the absence of musical examples reduces its value considerably.

Milton Wilson.

THE GREAT TIDE: Rubylea Hall; Collins; (Duell, Sloan & Pearce); pp. 535; \$3.50.

"No real lady would deliberately attempt to hurt another's feelings," was the primary lesson Ca'line learned during her seventeenth birthday celebrations. It fitted in with the program she set for herself—to travel, to be beloved, and to amount to something. Although her natal day party was well attended by swains (none outstandingly characterized except the violent "Tom"), Carolina Nicholas Green Cochran was considered as old maid material because—at 17—she had not chosen a suitor. The lovely, lighthearted, capricious Ca'line learned a lot of other things at the log-rolling and backwoods get-together, principally how to tantalize men.

The Great Tide is laid on the west coast of Florida, and the tale proper commences in June, 1935, covering the adventures of Ca'line against the happenings of the times, rich, fantastic, colorful. The book is divided into three portions: "Greenwood," "St. Joseph" and "The Forks of the Creek." Mrs. Hall, descendant of pioneers and plantation folk akin to those described in this her first novel, took 20 years in its writing. Her language is intentionally "homey" and colloquial for the period she describes.

Enid Sheppard.

THE LONG PURSUIT: Joseph Freeman; Oxford University Press; pp. 310; \$3.25.

This is one of the worst books I have ever tried to read. It combines the faults of *The Hucksters* and *Forever Amber* with a few extra ones of its own. It is not only pointless but pretentious; not only vulgar but almost unbelievably dull.

The plot, built around a group who put on an "Information Please" type of show for the GI's in Europe, could have been interesting if it had been handled either realistically or satirically, but Mr. Freeman never seems to make

up his mind whether he is dealing with characters or caricatures. Or perhaps he thinks he is writing a parable: the blurb tells us that the plot is "that of man's fate and hope in the eternal struggle between good and bad"! It is hard to understand how the author of *Never Call Retreat* could produce anything as bad as this.

Edith Fowke.

JOHN WILDMAN, PLOTTER AND POSTMASTER: Maurice Ashley; Clarke, Irwin and Co.; pp. 319; \$3.75.

Extensive research has uncovered the hitherto obscure details of the long career of the most astute and persistent seventeenth-century republican plotter, beginning with the Leveller arguments against Charles and Cromwell in the Putney Debates (1647) and ending with conditional though effective support of William and Mary, and a knighthood. Wildman ably defended the Leveller principles against the Army Grandees, but he was less a political theorist than a practising conspirator. This very readable account of his activities greatly clarifies the efforts of the various republican groups, since through four reigns and the interregnum he was near the centre of every conspiracy against arbitrary power; but it illuminates the development of political thinking less than one had hoped. It does however demonstrate conclusively what has been obscured by both Whig and Tory historians: how the two great seventeenth-century revolutions were bound together by the ideas and influence of such men, and how important a part they played in the origin of the Whig party and the Revolution of 1688.

Arthur Barker.

STEEPLE BUSH: Robert Frost; Oxford University Press; pp. 62; \$3.00.

There is little in this volume to please the admirer of Frost's best and characteristic work. Where once metaphysi-

cal suggestion stole secretly from simple Yankee birches, one encounters a self-conscious strain, a striving for "modernity," and only rare moments of lyrical lift. The jacket tells us "that Frost's shrewd comment on national and world affairs seems sharper and more provocative than ever before." But unfortunately, the topical poems read like mediocre newspaper editorials set to rhyme. The volume is technically uneven, often lapsing into amateurish doggerel. We are sadly aware that this is Frost's old age and that it is no Homer who nods here.

Malcolm Ross.

ALSO RECEIVED

FROSTY-MOON AND OTHER POEMS: Margot Osborn; Ryerson; pp. 8; 50c.

THE ENGLISH DIGEST (October, 1947); Mellifont Press Ltd. (London, England); pp. 84; 25c.

CHANGING EPOCH (Number 1): Central Books Ltd. (London, England); pp. 90; 75c.

SOVIET POLICY ABROAD: Harold I. Nelson; Can. Assoc. for Adult Ed. and Can. Inst. of Inter. Affairs; pp. 24; 15c.

RUDOLF HILFERDING UND DIE DEUTSCHE ARBEITERBEWEGUNG: Alexander Stein; Sozialdemocratic Party of Germany (Hanover); pp. 40.

DIE SOZIALDEMOCRATIE UND DIE KATHOLISCHE KIRCHE: Kary Kautsky; Sozialdemocratic Party of Germany (Hanover); pp. 40.

"WIE MAN SICH BETTET, SO SCHLAFT MAN": Arthur Mertins; Sozialdemocratic Party of Germany (Hanover); pp. 62.

SCOTTISH NURSERY RHYMES: edited by Norah and William Montgomerie; Oxford; pp. 151; \$2.25.

HOW TO BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES: Marian Schibbsy and Read Lewis; Common Council for American Unity; pp. 95; 50c.

A NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY FOR CANADA: The Canadian Welfare Council, R. E. G. Davis, Executive Director; pp. 23; 15c.

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DOROTHY LIVESAY, one of Canada's foremost poets, lives in North Vancouver, B.C. Her latest book, *Poems for People*, was reviewed in our October issue . . . ALLAN SANGSTER, of Toronto, who was for a time music critic of the *Globe and Mail* and of Judith Robinson's *News* during almost its entire existence, is now a freelance writer . . . MILDRED FAHRNI, of Vancouver, B.C., attended the recent Inter-American Congress of Women in Guatemala, C.A. . . . P. S. SHACKLETON is with the Capital Press Service, Ottawa.

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